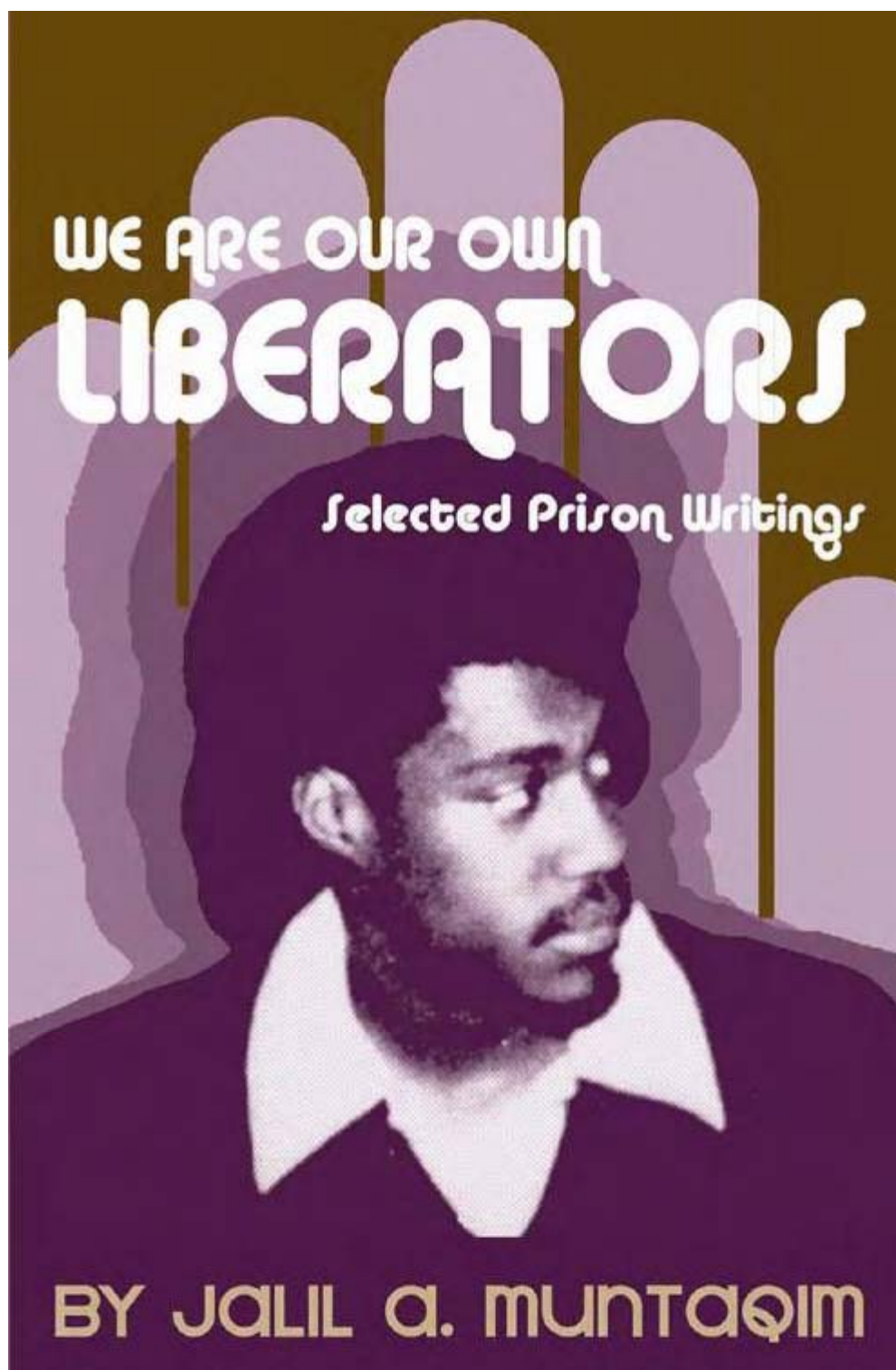




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We Are Our Own Liberators

Selected Prison Writings

JALIL A. MUNTAQIM



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WE ARE OUR OWN LIBERATORS

Selected Prison Writings

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Anthony Bottom • Jalil Abdul Muntaqim

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Dedication

This book is dedicated to all our comrades who lost their lives as a result of the U.S. government counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO) and other reactionary and racist forces. To the many political prisoners of war languishing in U.S. prisons and subject to slavery and involuntary servitude as mandated by the 13th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution in violation of the U.N. Minimum Standard on the Treatment of Prisoners and the Protocols of the Geneva Accords. And, to our many political exiles who were hunted and exiled due to COINTELPRO activities.

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Acknowledgments

The new edition of this compilation of selected prison writings spans over 36 years of the political development of the Black Liberation Movement. Although several pieces have been edited or revised, the original content remains. This book has but one purpose: to raise political consciousness and broaden the base for revolutionary activity. In this regard, I urge readers to organize study groups, and for these study groups to evolve into active militant political cadres working in support of NALF or the Jericho Amnesty Movement. This is more than a mere political book; more so it informs *what should be done* and *how to get it done* in the interest of class and national liberation struggle in North America.

I would like to again, in this new edition, express my eternal gratitude to Bonnie Kerness for her painstaking typing of the original manuscript onto computer disk, and working step by step with me to get it into print. From the beginning when this project was introduced to her, she never wavered to ensure it manifested into an actual book. Neil Batelli and Mathias Bolton assisted with inputting the original manuscript and securing the photo array to expedite the project's completion. Additionally, I want to acknowledge W. Pitts, as well as Rafiq and Alexis Buss for their efforts in transforming the disk into an actual book.

I need to thank the Puffin Foundation, William M. Kunstler Foundation, and many others for their financial contribution, grants and donations to the printing of this book.

Thanks also go to Kiilu Nyasha and Robert J. Boyle, who provided editorial advice or research material for the original writings of *We Are Our Own Liberators!* and *National POW Amnesty Campaign* – Asanta/Shukran.

Obviously, this new edition expands on the original manuscript providing additional essays, analysis and poems that are essentially commentaries of the state of the Black (New Afrikan) struggle in the United States. Leslie J. Pickering, the author of *Mad Bomber Melville* proposed that I consider publishing a new edition of *We Are Our Own Liberators!* He was responsible for contacting Arissa Media Group, www.arissamedia.com and interested AMG in accepting this project. I am very grateful

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Acknowledgment

to Leslie Pickering and AMG for having the insight and courage
to publish this new, expanded edition of *We Are Our Own
Liberators!*

Jalil Abdul Muntaqim

Introduction

Essentially, the course of our struggle has been defensive, marginally organized, and sectarian. There exists across the country hundreds of revolutionary nationalist cadres and formations. Many of these cadres are members or affiliated with the very few organizations that apply the politics of revolutionary nationalism to our peoples' national oppression. These revolutionary nationalist organizations, for the most part, have not established a national strategy or program to galvanize a serious independence movement in this country. Not since the advent of the Black Panther Party (BPP), have Black people, especially youth, been empowered with the sense of their ability to liberate themselves. Various formations have sought to restore the militant posture and influence the BPP garnered in Black communities across the country. Albeit no single, formation has successfully evolved either the organization or the political momentum that the former BPP developed between 1966 and 1975.

Nevertheless, revolutionary nationalist formations must be credited for their continued noble efforts in the struggle for national liberation. The FBI's COINTELPRO operations and reactionary forces destroyed the Black Panther Party. These same entities continue to sow seeds of dissension in an effort to deny Black people self-determination. The various existing revolutionary nationalist formations have sought to keep the spirit of militant resistance and struggle alive. They have brought the issue of political prisoners of war before international tribunals, all of which lead to the creation in 1998 of the Jericho Amnesty Movement. Pan-Afrikanism has broadened the understanding of the global nature of white supremacy, as more Black people understand the similarities between old South Afrikan system of apartheid and U.S. institutional racism. More Black people are making the link between themselves and Afrikans on the continent

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Introduction

as Maafa rituals are growing more prevalent, seeking to bridge the cultural void. Furthermore, the issue of reparations is now in a bill pending before the U.S. Congress, and as the issue grows Blacks in America and Afrikans on the continent will seek to merge in their common interests to resolve the reparations struggle.

In respect to the issue of reparations, it addresses more than compensation for inhumane exploitation suffered during the Atlantic slavery trade. It addresses the socio-economic condition Black people presently suffer, and argues against U.S. government's inequitable distribution of wealth. Ideological and political discussion of our existence in America has been, for the most part, subject to ideals of integration and assimilation, absent the demand of reparations. The ideological/political argument for reparations offers debate on the historical condition of being in America, and what has evolved since the 13th Amendment ended chattel slavery. It offers greater historical analysis based upon an understanding of national identity in opposition to Afrikan-American assimilation and acculturation. It seeks to hold the U.S. government and corporate entities with direct relations with the Atlantic slave trade conditionally responsible for the socio-economic disenfranchisement of Black people. This struggle qualifies the argument that there exists a neo-colonial relationship between Black people and the American government based on the history of slavery and national oppression. Ultimately, reparations bring to the debate a human rights issue of independence and nationhood.

Also, it is important that the issue of U.N.-sponsored plebiscite be raised on a national level. This is a method by which the politics pertaining to our national identity are addressed in a national forum governed by international rules of law. However, this task needs to be subject to a report issued by a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) that takes testimony regarding U.S. human rights violations as it pertains to COINTELPRO and reparations. Revolutionary nationalist formations should unite to build the means and methods to forge a movement to accomplish these tactical initiatives in condemnation of U.S. crimes against humanity.

Revolutionary nationalists across the country agree our peoples' national oppression requires a national response. This national response should develop with the greatest amount of principled unity amongst as many revolutionary nationalists as ideologically and politically possible. The greater the

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ideological and political unity, the greater the movement to combat national oppression and racism. Black people and the human rights movement cannot tolerate revolutionary nationalists engaging in internecine struggles. It is of utmost importance that revolutionary nationalists, of all trends and tendencies, resolve internal contradictions and develop the independence movement. The plight of Black people in this country demands national representative leadership by revolutionary nationalists. Such leadership will provide understanding and direction encompassing the political ideal of national liberation and independence. This means establishing a national strategy inclusive of a socio-economic program for jobs, food, clothing, health care and shelter-- the necessities of life many Black people sorely lack. When considering the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, it is more than obvious that revolutionary nationalists must be in a position to ensure the basic needs of Black people are met.

The primary question that needs to be resolved is, where is the movement going, and what is its ultimate objective? The answer to this question presents another question: How can we best reach our objective/goal? Hence, when revolutionary nationalists unite for the expressed purpose of answering these questions, a national agenda, formation and strategy will arise from these questions. There has been much rhetoric and propaganda about the conditions of national oppression and racism, about the destruction of capitalist-imperialism, but there has been little work toward building what will replace the system of racism and national oppression. What is the national agenda subject to the ultimate objective/goals of the movement? In the course of building and sustaining the national liberation movement, how will the national agenda be implemented?

As I understand the proposition, there are three alternatives in answer to the prevailing questions:

- Are we to fight for an integrated social democratic capitalist America?
- Are we to lead the fight to build a multi-nationalist socialist United States?
- Are we to fight for domestic self-determination and independence of the Republic of New Afrika?

Introduction

The ideological and political determinants of these three questions represent the essential trends and tendencies the movement confronts. Thus, the answer to these questions will resolve a major contradiction among revolutionary nationalists.

This book is an offering to the revolutionary nationalist movement, presenting criteria for building a revolutionary nationalist front. I expect much controversy will be raised for and against what these writings offer. In this regard, I have offered a specific idea toward the development of a revolutionary nationalist front. My sincere hope is that interested parties, individuals and formations, will give serious consideration to what is offered. Discussion amongst revolutionary nationalist on this issue, within the parameters of the contents of this book, may ensure the manifestation of FROLINAN's national strategy. It is my hope the various trends and tendencies in the revolutionary nationalist movement will reconcile differences and build the revolutionary nationalist front. That would make this compilation of writings well worth all of the controversy anticipated.

In fact, since the original call for the building of FROLINAN in this book, various trends and tendencies in the movement have formed the New Afrikan Liberation Front (NALF). The NALF has incorporated the theoretical proposition of the Three Phase Theory, and many of the concepts and programs presented in FROLINAN's national strategy. However, the NALF is still in its formative stages of development, requiring the contribution of many revolutionary nationalist groups in order to become the foremost political entity representing the interest of New Afrikans. With the reissuing of this book, it is expected many more revolutionary nationalists, and those seeking to involve themselves in the overall movement for human rights, will seek to join and assist NALF in the development of its decolonialization programs.

It should be noted what is written are my own words and do not necessarily represent the ideological and political thought of the Black Panther Party or the Black Liberation Army.

The Obama-Nation

Will the Obama-Nation become an abomination if it fails to stop the bombing of nations? From Gaza to Afghanistan, the American people must take a stand and tell Obama to forge a better plan to free the land of Zionist and the Taliban-- To stand up against corporate bailouts while prisons are left out for change, like a business without clout as 2.3 million prisoners remain in chains.

“Change” became a mantra defined on a political precipice forged in steep words unprecedented by one who won the right to be the 44th President. Supported by beliefs sold in edifices of worship, bonding the ideals shuttered in the hearts of the dispossessed whose hope for tomorrow has not regressed. Yet, time sours faith in hungry bellies as the unsheltered endure the storms of lies, alibis, and corrupt government undisguised as the media realized, exposing the truth could result in a covenant Pulitzer Prize.

A future is born with a change of power on this day and in this hour with an oath of office the Obama-Nation must stand in allegiance, against torture, Abu Graib, Guantanamo Bay, rendition and detention, just to mention how the U.S. derelictions became the world’s affliction. Evolving from 8 years of disconnection, disaffection, humiliation, dissatisfaction with the Bush administration, corporate affiliations that led to U.S. financial ruination.

The Democrats believe they can, since Obama told them, “Yes We Can;” Americans hope this is not a sham – as participatory democracy is more than a four-year election, since each day the Americans should strive for perfection, healing the planet as they heal themselves of racism, sexism and capitalist exploitation, to improve America’s place in the World of nations.

No drama in the Obama-Nation is the expectation, void of hesitation, folks’ anticipation the 44th will elevate the level of peace dividends given in Clintonesques deliberation face to face with world’s representatives, like ebony and ivory side by side, championing U.S. hegemony in perfect harmony. As Gates secures

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Obama-Nation

the gates of the Pentagon to sustain an imperialist presence from Iraq to the China sea, who is to believe change can be conceived with National Security Agency secrets up their sleeves?

The continued embargo of Cuba and Haiti a scandalous exercise of power, as Latin America excises North America in its revolutionary shining hour. Iran seeks nuclear advancement as the CIA creeps to hinder its expansion, an inexplicable situation given the arms race has moved as far as outer space, continuing to militarily arm Israel and Taiwan. While North Korea produces nuclear energy, the U.S. attempts to prohibit proliferation not of its control, using food as a weapon toward an obvious starving nation not keeping with its humanitarian goals.

Afrika stumbles into the 21st century with corporate proxy wars, none keeping score as economic devastation brings multiple horrors, including the killing of babies and raping of girls, arming of children, leaving the land trampled with scars. Afrikans hope the Obama-Nation will plant seeds of democracy, negating the hypocrisy of years of neglect without regret, and yet, AFRICOM is a serious misstep. With Asians in Malaysia, the largest concentration of Islamic moderation confounds U.S. inclination to confront jihadist of Al-Qaeda's persuasion in its population.

On the home front, Martin L. King Jr. proclaimed we as a people will get to the promise land, while Malcolm X said it will be either the Ballot or Bullet, so could it be hard to understand the 44th like a Manchurian candidate manipulating the political landscape, permitting the Patriot Act to prohibit progressive or revolutionary tact, believing true liberation after today has become a point in fact. By virtue of the ballot, the revolution has been hijacked, the Black bourgeoisie has been notified America is now sanctified and the promise land gentrified as the Obama-Nation is satisfied. But in prison, COINTELPRO victims remain classified, yet to be rectified with truth and reconciliation, no way to start anew in the Obama-Nation.

So with a historic inauguration by pomp and circumstances though crying eyes, a new era to inspire a generation of possibilities beyond rhetoric. Anxious for the audacity of hope to spring eternal in humanities, fratricidal brotherhood with service to the nation negating race or class as societies underclass test pomp and

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circumstances with stark cold reality of growing unemployment lines, with the economic situation continuing to decline.

My warning to all while the band plays "Hail to the Chief," with a military seven gun salute, to not become hoodwinked or bamboozled, nor forgo the political determination to end the embargo of Haiti and Cuba, to Free Puerto Rico and Palestine. For this is not the time to recline in building struggle. To keep U.S. hands off of Assata, because we gotta free all U.S. political prisoners in the spirit of knowing ***We Are Our Own Liberators!***

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We Are Our Own Liberators

In the quest to develop a new economic order for and about Black people, it becomes necessary to isolate the political mechanism of the Black bourgeoisie and develop a national strategy for the economic empowerment of the country's Black majority. It is essential to formulate political goals that are wholly responsive to our economic determination.

This must be done on all fronts in a class struggle within our movement towards national liberation. The Black bourgeoisie must make its knowledge and skills available to the Black community. This would serve to fortify and ensure continued economic growth and development – creating practical, moral, ethical, and cultural ties that could unify us for economic and political empowerment.

Such cultural ties are based on the philosophical position that We Are Our Own Liberators. This conviction should be internalized by those responsible for maintaining and reinforcing our cultural and political institutions nationwide. Whereas existing racist institutions operate to perpetuate our peoples' physical and mental dependence on their oppressors; our movement to secure economic and political empowerment will liberate us from those establishments, and greatly enhance our culture and politics.

One of the principle failures of the Black Liberation efforts in the 60s and 70s was not formulating and instituting a national economic strategy combined with a national political strategy. For example, the Black Panther Party evolved "survival programs pending revolution," but these programs did not have the financial foundation to support the revolutionary movement. No economic strategy was created to sustain the political apparatuses, i.e., the Party.

Similarly, while significant gains were made politically and socially during the Civil Rights Movement, it failed to introduce and maintain a strategy for economic salvation and total liberation. The 40 acres and a mule promised Black people

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immediately after chattel slavery was abolished obviously never materialized. Instead, Black people became a dispersed, colonized and impoverished people. Despite the historical touting of individual Black success stories, the overwhelming majority of former slaves were left landless and homeless to survive on their own, while ostracized racially from the means of production and gainful employment. Others became sharecroppers subjected to the exploitation of White landowners, or migrated to the urban areas of the North where they were crowded into vicious living conditions relegated to domestic and menial labor.

Considering the enormous wealth Whites amassed as a direct benefit from the slave labor of entire generations of African men, women and children, it's an outrage that to this day, Black people have a median income of less than half that of Whites, and according to the 1984 Census report, the net worth of a typical White household is 12 times that of a similar Black household, not to mention the disproportionate social ills Black people suffer. Thus, our token political and social gains, have not changed the economic conditions of the Black majority. Opportunities available to the nominal few still depend on the gratuitous whims of the White ruling minority, leaving us a relatively poor and powerless people.

As long as Negro politicians and Negro political activists continue to maintain constituent allegiance to the "Democratic-Republican party," nothing will change except to get much worse. It is when we finally resolve to build independent political and economic power – uniting with those groups, organizations and parties likewise opposed to the status quo – that we will define ourselves and determine our own destiny. In short, "without a revolutionary party, there can be no revolution." There must be a political horse on which the people can ride to power.

Back in the 1960s The Black Panther Party attempted just such a task, forming coalitions with Asian, Indian, Latino and oppressed White organizations (The American Indian Movement, I Wor Kuen, The Young Lords, The Brown Berets, and the Patriot Party, among others). This international movement met the full force of the government's domestic and international military, including the FBI and the CIA. The Bureau's counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO) targeting all Black nationalist and revolutionary organizations for neutralization left no stone unturned when it came to destructive tactics, including documented cases of assassinations, beatings, false arrests and frame-ups. In

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short, our aspirations for independence, self determination and revolutionary change were considered a threat to the national security of the country.

Clearly, the U.S. Government will only allow for very limited democratic participation and dissent – providing the illusion of inclusion while ensuring our continued dependence on the government for subsistence. Today, even that government dependence is being denied as millions of people increasingly are left to die from the ills of homelessness.

Despite the fact that we lost the battles of the '60s – “A fall in the pit, a gain in the wit” (Mao) – a luta continua (the struggle continues); the war is not over, and venceremos (we will win) in the long run. We can and must recover from these setbacks, and continue to function in total opposition to the White power brokers. And since wealth is power in the context of this reactionary system of monopoly capitalism, we must harness and control our real economic power as consumers to at least begin to change the disastrous economic conditions in our own Black communities NOW. For while Black people wield an annual purchasing power of \$300 billion, we remain economically and politically powerless.

Therefore, a national strategy for economic empowerment must be forged within a national political strategy for total liberation. Class and color caste struggle is an undeniable necessity for promoting unity within our oppressed nation. The primary obstacle to the development of such togetherness is sectarianism, i.e., the splitting off into myriad cliques based on color, class, gender, culture, etc.

Unfortunately, the so-called progressive political forces have placed their own agendas and program above Black people themselves. In an internecine struggle to be recognized as the Vanguard representing the best interests of Black people, these so-called progressives spend inordinate time and energy battling amongst themselves – competing instead of cooperating, dividing instead of uniting. They fail to understand that they are in essence servants of the people whose principle obligation is to formulate the criteria for the class struggle for national unity. Such a formula is inconceivable when those responsible for establishing a national strategy are themselves grappling over politically infantile matters – matters that have little to do with developing needed programs to broaden the spectrum of political and economic empowerment for Black people.

We Are Our Own Liberators

It is therefore incumbent upon those leaders/activists who genuinely love and serve Black people to educate, organize, and mobilize them to challenge the Black as well as the White bourgeoisie – particularly those upper-class Negroes who function as neo-colonial agents of the oppressor government. They are providing support to the colonial, racist institutions that operate to delude our people into believing the “American dream,” which for most of us is a nightmare. These Negro agents of repression must be exposed as traitors of the Black nation in collaboration with our enemies. How can these so-called Representatives in Congress, for example, function in our best interests as a tiny minority in a barrel of rotten apples? Everyone knows that it takes only ONE rotten apple to spoil a whole barrel. This understanding applies likewise to Negro corporate Amerika, whose business is primarily maintained by Black peoples’ patronage and exploitation. These corporate Negroes must be made to understand that they are putting profits before people in supporting the very system that keeps our people impoverished, disenfranchised, ignorant, chronically ill, moribund and powerless. Of course we realize that these people can’t change overnight, but in the words of Jonathan Jackson, “If there’s a big job of growing to do, the sooner begun, the sooner done.”

As a dispersed and colonized nation within Amerika, we are collectively supporting corporate capital to the tune of \$300 billion in annual purchasing power. Yet what we ourselves control, manufacture, or produce is negligible. We are basically laborers and consumers. A tiny percentage of this multi-billion dollar consumer power serves to secure or develop our own Black communities. Rather, most of these billions are used to purchase goods manufactured and retailed by those who influence and/or control the political apparatus that keeps us powerless and oppressed.

The capitalist system operates to maintain a population of consumers who will also serve as a needed labor force – the cheaper the better. We must struggle to transform this exploitative relationship, and in the process create social-cultural institutions that will support and reinforce our political and economic struggle for total liberation. Simultaneously, we must evolve the military skills and weaponry necessary to defend and protect this revolutionary movement.

Hence, along with the creation and development of a national political party, there must be a national economic strategy that

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seeks to harness, control and redirect our \$300 billion purchasing power. In this way, we will support our own liberation movement instead of continuing to support our own oppression. For example, one of the means by which we can wield our potential economic power as consumers is through boycotts of corporations and products, especially those practicing discrimination against Black people. At the same time, we must begin to produce cooperatively – owned, non-exploitative businesses of our own, and give them our full support as consumers.

Again, a national strategy for economic empowerment is an essential and necessary step towards fulfillment of the objective of political empowerment, as well as the affirmation in each of us that We Are Our Own Liberators. Liberation in our Lifetime!

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Africans in the Diaspora and the Black Bourgeoisie

It is estimated between 50 to 100 million African lives were lost during the middle passage. Another 25 to 50 million lost their lives during the course of slavery at the hands of ruthless slave traders and plantation owners. This historical devastation of Africans has not been recorded, documented and historically preserved as it should have been. Due to the lack of this history being properly preserved, taught and understood, it has led to severe consequences to Africans in the diaspora.

One consequential aspect of the death of millions of Africans is the great loss of African influence in the world. If it weren't for the tragedy of the slave trade, Africans, like the Chinese, would be over one-fourth of the world population. Secondly, failure to historically record and continuously make note of the tragedy has allowed for continued slaughter and decimation of Africans throughout the world at genocidal proportions, and at no consequence to humanity. Thirdly, while other people, particularly the Jews and Eastern Europeans, keep the world mindful of tragedies of historical import to their ethnic group, allowing them to maintain a form of national affinity and unity against such future events, Africans in the diaspora have failed to give rise to this form of national self-determination, remaining vulnerable to such practices as being presently visited upon them.

In this regard, history would act as a foundation and catalyst to forge national cultural institutions that would function to recover our loss, and preserve the nation. The point is, when people do not have a full, concise, and profoundly documented account of where they have been and what they have suffered, they will not have a psychological and cultural foundation, as a people, to know what they want to struggle to attain. This reality has given rise to a people who are mentally – and often manifested intellectually – without historical continuity as to who they are,

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Africans in the Diaspora and the Black Bourgeoisie

what they represent, and their contributions to humanity.

Hence, the historical event of the middle passage and the absence of consequential ramifications by Africans in the diaspora, are the most significant issues demanding rectification. As the Jews proudly say, "Never Again," reminding the world of the Holocaust, Africans in the diaspora should proudly proclaim "We Will Never Forget", reminding the world of the millions of Africans who died during the middle passage and the slave trade. It is when Africans in the diaspora, as a people, begin to forge an understanding of historical import to African survival, that a national determination may evolve of cultural and political significance to combat every aspect of genocide.

Unfortunately, those Blacks who have assimilated into modern high-tech culture of American consumerism have divorced themselves from an African national self-determination.

The class and national divisions of American capitalist society has forestalled any true movement towards national rectification. Blacks who have assimilated, especially the Black bourgeoisie who are in support of this system of government, which as a result of slavery, is overwhelmingly institutionally racist, have often served as neo-colonial agents. As agents, they condone government policies subverting the struggle of national self-determination of Africans in the diaspora. Historically, when a nationally oppressed people begin to organize towards self-determination, their colonial oppressor seeks the means to divide and conquer the movement, such was the case in the late 1960s with COINTELPRO's destruction of the Black Panther Party.

During the civil rights movement of the 50s and 60s the government facilitated, formed and consolidated a Black middle and upper middle class. These classes of Blacks were appointed as spokespersons and leaders of the aspirations of Africans in the diaspora. Such leadership aspired integration and assimilation as the principle objective to be won. Also, they diligently worked to undermine and prevent the national revolutionary movement for self-determination. In the 60s when young Africans took to the streets raging against racist police brutality and murder, it was these so-called "responsible Negro leaders" who were called to quell the riots. This eventually developed into a ploy by these Negro leaders to threaten the racist colonial government (USA) for more token reforms. Thus, these de facto agents of the State ultimately served the primary interest of their class status and the interest of the government to prevent the Black liberation struggle. The

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Black bourgeois policy of integration and assimilation denies the existence and development of a revolutionary national culture that would further support the socio-psychological liberation of Africans in the diaspora. Rather, the Black bourgeoisie policy instituted mental shackles that affirmed the neurosis (read: "Wretched of the Earth," "Black Skin White Mask," and "A Dying Colonialism" by Franz Fanon) suffered as a result of our tortured (slavery, black codes, Jim Crow and institutional racism) experience in America.

Such neurosis, defined as a loss of personal identity and delusions (ie, hair straightening, or skin bleaching cream, á la Michael Jackson or Ebony Man), is readily indicated in the character and personality of many Africans in the diaspora. More importantly, Blacks who assimilate are profoundly suffering from this schizophrenic dysfunction, as their identification with their peoples' national oppressor denies them a level of self-identification wholly embracing the reality of their peoples' existence and struggle in this country. Most recently, the Black bourgeoisie has been debating how Africans in the diaspora should be identified, opting to be called "African-Americans." This identification automatically qualifies a dual connotation and dilemma expressing the conditional dysfunction caused by this neurosis.

Furthermore, the Black bourgeoisie class and their neo-colonial policies and practices, has allowed for the benign neglect of the African lower and underclass. These sanctions on behalf of their class status and values, and in the interest of descendants of slave traders and plantation owners, serve to maintain conditions of abject poverty for the now identified African-American, the descendants of slaves. Between 1970-80 the African-American poor rose by 24%, from 1.4 million to 1.8 million, with 3 times more African-American families living in poverty than White families (approximately 11 million Black families). Poor White impoverishment fell 20% from 1.6 million to 1.3 million over the same period. The African-American middle class rose from 15.7% to 21.2% in 1986, according to government statistics.

Malcolm X, in one of his many analogies, compared the "House Negro" with the "Field Negro," and how the house negro helped to save the "massa's" house from burning, while the field negro prayed a strong wind would ensure it burned to the ground. His analogy appropriately explains the present relationship the Black bourgeoisie, as house negros, maintain

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with the colonial U.S. government. The same mentality prevails, whereby the Black bourgeoisie have become neo-colonial agents of government policies. Having been raised to the esteemed positions of Mayor, Governor, Congressman, Senator, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces and astronaut; and in business, CEO of major corporations and multi-million dollar “bo-jangles, steppin-fechits and Fiddlers (Root Saga – “I don’t know how to be free”) in the entertainment world, the house negro neurosis persists to the detriment of the oppressed nation. Their assimilation denies an identification with the historically determined reality of Africans in the diaspora’s total relationship to/with American capitalism in all its racist exploitative manifestations. In this regard, Malcolm X proclaimed:

I’m Black first. My sympathies are Black, my allegiance is Black, my whole objectives are Black...I am not interested in being American, because America has never been interested in me...No, I’m not an American. I’m one of 22 million Black people who are victims of Americanism. One of the... victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy...

Hence, Africans in the diaspora find very few tangible issues being addressed by those with the power to influence prevailing conditions of poverty in the inner cities and Southern rural communities. Although many studies and reports have been made that one out of every four Black males will at one time during his life be imprisoned, no solutions have been established to root out the conditions for such imprisonment. In 1985, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Margaret Heckler, published the report on “Black & Minority Health” which purported:

1. By the year 2010, 40% of all African-Americans are predicted to have contracted AIDS;
2. Lung cancer claims the lives of 48% more African-American males than white males;
3. The infant mortality rate for African-Americans will be 20 deaths per 1,000 – about twice that suffered by whites;

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4. Homicide is the leading cause of death among African-American men between 25 and 44 years old. One in 22 African-American males will be murdered (98% of whom will be committed by other Blacks);
5. African-Americans suffer considerably more strokes than their white counterparts and are more than five times as likely to die from symptoms.

It should be added that there are more Black single parent households than ever before, that Black youths are consistently 35% to 50% unemployed, and U.S. prison populations are made up of 57% Black men and women. Meanwhile, chronic drug addiction amongst Blacks gives further credence to powerlessness. These examples indicate the prevailing genocidal conditions that confront Africans in the diaspora, allowing us to be cognizant of the true vacuum in leadership the Black bourgeoisie represents.

The inspiring rhetoric of Reverend Jessie Jackson and Minister Louis Farrakhan provide little solace to the degree of oppression Africans in the diaspora suffer. This is especially significant when they fail to formulate and implement national campaigns and programs that directly address the pervasive genocidal conditions of sociopolitical and economic disenfranchisement. Needless to say, the electoral process has consistently failed to alter or change to any large degree the general condition of Black impoverishment.

The political election of Blacks more often than not serves to verify and affirm the neurosis and delusions of being American, the illusion of inclusion in the American political process. This is especially true when Black elected officials maintain the policies of their class status and values, and perpetuate the system (where reform is tantamount to tokenism) of benign neglect. This is not to say electoral politics is an absolute waste of time and energy; rather, the electing of assimilationists hinders the forward progress of the oppressed nation. It would be to our greater advantage to struggle to elect more progressive political representatives rather than those seeking to appease and reform by assimilation, to elect those who would challenge the power structure to make drastic changes effecting our extreme situation.

In comprehending what is here postulated a struggle for

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true national self-determination in the diaspora, we must engage in a movement for rectification. A new movement of national rectification and unity must be organized from a revolutionary nationalist perspective. It is essential and necessary that the errors of the civil rights movement are recognized and corrected. This inevitably instigates the scrapping of the now bankrupt strategy of integration and assimilation. A new strategy must be formulated that creates national programs and institutions that serves to ensure the continued existence and vitality of the oppressed nation. As an example:

- 1) To demand reparations for the loss of millions of African lives during the middle passage from all nations/countries who were active participants in the slave trade, and for the centuries of the brutal chattel slavery in this country.
- 2) To build a National Independent Black Political Party that challenges the two-party system of government, on behalf of the misrepresented oppressed nation.
- 3) To formulate a national strategy for economic development of the African community, including the means and method to centralize the annual \$300 billion in purchasing power to better serve our struggle for national liberation. For the establishment of a National Association of African Businesses for Economic Independence.
- 4) To establish a national program for the feeding, clothing, housing and education of our children, who are living and suffering in dire poverty. This includes the development of a national health care campaign, whereby our own health physicians become responsible for the health care of our communities. To establish and maintain community health clinics as had previously been done by the Black Panther Party.
- 5) To demand community control of the school boards and city bureaucracies that appropriate

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funds for our schools. For college students to organize a National Alliance of African Student's Associations and Unions to establish a program for tutoring high school and elementary students, and developing liberation schools for the political training of our youth.

- 6) To build a national prison movement for penal justice, addressing the problem of the overwhelming number of African men and women in prisons across the country.
 - a. To stop the implementation of the death penalty across the country. Opponents of the death penalty must develop a national network and campaign to expose the racial and economic (class) injustices of the application of the death penalty in this country. This campaign must develop into an international forum to bring this issue to the United Nations on the basis of human rights violation subject to the disproportionate Black and Third World men and women under death penalty sanctions.
 - b. To end the establishment and use of maxi-maxi security control units that are used for behavior modification and confinement of political prisoners of war and other prisoner activists.
 - c. To build a national campaign for the amnesty and release of all political prisoners of war that they be given an opportunity to be transferred to a non-capitalist, non-imperialist country that will accept them. For all political prisoners of war to be retried before a United Nations court, demanding the U.S. recognize the existence of political prisoners of war in the United States.
 - d. To end forced labor, slave wages and involuntary servitude in U.S. prisons as

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mandated by the 13th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, and for the implementation of the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for Imprisonment.

Therefore, this new movement of national rectification and unity must evolve into a class struggle within the nation of Africans in the diaspora. The importance of this class struggle within the nation of Blacks is to identify and weed out neo-colonial agents (house negros) still serving the massa to the detriment of the oppressed nation. A strategy and program based on national unity must be constructed to confront the national oppressor from a position of strength sociopolitically and economically. The "class struggle for national unity" will establish the means and method for a national strategy and agenda to be developed. Such a strategy will operate to broaden the basis for national self-determination and independence. "WE ARE AN AFRICAN PEOPLE," "WE WILL NEVER FORGET" our holocaust, and "WE ARE OUR OWN LIBERATORS" should be the motto of this class struggle, whereby an Afrocentric cultural perspective will be the creative spirit, inspiring and giving impetus to this new movement toward real Black sociopolitical power and economic freedom.

Liberation in our Lifetime!

In Those Times

It was a time when yesterday's dreams were preferred; a period where personal sacrifices were not abandon, but were regarded as doing one's part.

It was a time when young women and men had faith and sought to realize their truths for the future. They knew it was not a matter of peace while at war, but rather peace after the revolution.

They understood Jimi Hendrix's "Purple Haze" was a diversion, where the memory of being a slave is washed away in acid, tripping down the steep abyss of conformity to racist oppression.

It was a time when the target oink in the masquerade of law and order. But the only order it knew was to ensure corporate supply and demand continued to exploit the community.

In those times, young Black men and women matriculated in the lessons of street warfare, in the art of survival while building survival programs, fighting battles wearing the uniforms of black leather jackets and berets. Their slogans were Power to the People, and Black Power to Black People!

Yet, they knew the revolution would not be televised, except for when one of them was murdered or captured or ran into exile.

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In Those Times

COINTELPRO would permit this broadcast
in order to distort the reality of revolution.

It was a time when Black love reigned supreme,
and the babies were held in esteem. Make babies
for the revolution and before I die, was the
war cry, and all had caught the infection
dream – that if you believe it, then you should
be it, and live it, or let it be!

And, we believe it, we live it, and what we let
be – had no relevance in those times...

On the Black Liberation Army

*"...Hide nothing from the masses of our people.
Tell no lies. Expose lies whenever they are told.
Mask no difficulties, mistakes, failures. Claim no
easy victories...."*

PAIGC-1965

The history of our national liberation struggle is one of the most important factors upon which the political party(s), the oppressed masses and the liberation armed forces may understand the nature of their oppression and the task before them toward independence and freedom. In this article, I would like to present to the masses the general history of the evolution of the Black Liberation Army. This will be a brief historical overview not providing specific historical data in order to protect people who are either functioning in the BLA, or in other areas no longer associated with the BLA. The Black Liberation Army is a politico-military organization, whose primary objective is to fight for the independence and self-determination of Afrikan people in the United States. The political determination of the BLA evolved out of the now-defunct Black Panther Party.

It was in October 1966, with the advent of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, that the question of armed struggle and resistance to racist oppression emerged as a plausible strategical maneuver in the developing liberation movement. It was in late 1968, early 1969, that the forming of a Black underground first began. From Los Angeles, California, to Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, armed units were formed in rural areas, trained, and caches were established. In Oakland, San Francisco, Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, Ohio, and New York, Black Panther Party offices were established to formulate a political relationship with the oppressed Black masses in these and other communities across the country. From 1969 to 1972, the BPP came under vicious attack by the State and Federal government. The government employed COINTELPRO (FBI, CIA and local

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On the Black Liberation Army

police departments) as a means to destroy the above-ground political apparatus that fielded the Black underground. But it wasn't until 1969 that the BPP began its purge of many of its most trusted and militant members, many of whom eventually joined the Black underground. By 1971, contradictions perpetuated by COINTELPRO forces in the leadership of the BPP caused the split between Newton and Cleaver, which eventually split the entire Black Panther Party into two major factions. It was this BPP split and factionalism that determined that the fielding of the Black underground would begin to serve its primary purpose (along with conditions presented by the State armed offensive to liquidate the Party). This is not to say that armed action against the State did not occur by the Black underground prior to the split. On the contrary, by 1971 the Black underground was becoming rich in experience in the tactics of armed expropriations, sabotage, and ambush-assaults. It needs to be said that, prior to the split, the Black underground was the official armed wing of the above-ground political apparatus, and thereby had to maintain restraint in its military activity. This was very well for the Black underground, although in many areas experienced in tactical military guerrilla warfare, it was still infantile politically, and although becoming organizationally wielded as a fighting apparatus, it did not establish an infrastructure completely autonomous from the above-ground BPP cadres and Party chapters. This, in turn, became one of the major detriments of the Black underground after the split of the Black Panther Party.

Based upon the split and factionalism in the BPP, and heightened repression by the State, the Black underground was ordered to begin establishing the capacity to take the "defensive-offensive" in developing urban guerrilla warfare. Hence, in 1971, the name Black Liberation Army (or Afro-American Liberation Army) surfaced as the nucleus of Black guerrilla fighters across the United States. This is not to say that the name Black Liberation Army was first used in 1971, for in late 1968, during a student strike and demonstration in Mexico City, many students and demonstrators were killed by Mexican police. One of those students was reported to have had a piece of paper in his pocket, upon which was written the name "Black Liberation Army." Whether or not there was a connection to the fielding of the Black underground with the uprising in Mexico in 1968 is unknown.

Since the split in the BPP and the call of the "defensive-offensive" commenced, the Black underground, which in May

We Are Our Own Liberators

of 1971 bore the name “Black Liberation Army,” had committed many armed attacks against the States as part of the BPP (and after the split), many of which are unrecorded. Here I would like to present the Justice Department–LEAA Task Force report on BLA activity. (It should be noted these reports were recorded by the date according to when they captured, killed, or in some way received information concerning BLA activity, and therefore are one-sided and by no means indicated all BLA activity in the last ten years.)

1970

October 22, San Francisco, Calif. –An antipersonnel time bomb explodes outside a church, showering steel shrapnel on mourners of a patrolman slain in a bank holdup; no one is injured. The BLA is suspected.

1971

January 13, Hunters Point, Calif. – A police officer is shot by BLA member.

January 19, San Francisco, Calif. – Two police officers are wounded by BLA members.

March 30, San Francisco, Calif. – There is a BLA attempt to bomb a police station.

May 19, New York City – Two Black men lure patrolmen Curry and Binetti by driving the wrong way and ignoring a traffic light; when apprehended, the driver drops down and the passenger fires a machine gun at the doors and windows of the patrol car; the Black Liberation Army is suspected.

May 21, Harlem, N.Y. – Patrolmen Piagentini and Waverly Jones are killed in an ambush by alleged members of the BLA.

June 5, New York City – Four men associated with the Black Liberation Army attempt to hold up a night club called the Triple O. One cab driver is killed.

June 18, New York City – BLA members rob a bank for funds.

August – Twenty BLA members leave New York City and rent

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a farmhouse in Fayetteville, Ga., where they conduct a guerrilla warfare school for one month, during which they hold up a bank and kill an Atlanta policeman.

August 23, Queens, N.Y. – The Bankers Trust Company is robbed; Black Liberation Army members are identified as participants.

August 28, San Francisco, Calif. – Two BLA members attempt to machine gun a San Francisco police department patrol car. After an exchange of gun fire, they are apprehended. The service revolver of slain New York City patrolman Waverly Jones is found in their possession.

August 29, San Francisco, Calif. – a police sergeant is killed at his desk when two black men fire repeated blasts into the Ingelside police station; the BLA is suspected.

October 7, Atlanta, Ga. – The Peters Street branch of Fulton National Bank is robbed, reportedly by the Black Liberation Army.

November 3, Atlanta, Ga. – Officer James Richard Greene is shot in a paddywagon; the scene of the shooting is 3 miles from a residence used by the Black Liberation Army, and this organization is believed responsible for the shooting.

December 12, Atlanta, Ga. – Three reported Black Liberation Army members and two other prisoners escape from the DeKalb County Jail.

December 21, Atlanta, Ga. / New York City – Two police notice a suspicious car near Bankers Trust Company in Queens. When they approach the car, it speeds away. After individuals in the car roll a grenade towards the police car, the grenade explodes, causing considerable damage toward the police car, and injuring the policemen; two suspects are identified as Black Liberation Army members.

December 31, Brooklyn, N.Y. – BLA members engage in a shoot-out with a rival group of offices of Youth in Action.

Odessa, Fla. – A BLA member is killed in shoot-out with the

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FBI.

1972

January 12, Houston, Texas – Members of the BLA are charged for the June 6 shooting and wounding of the off-duty Housing Police detectives.

January 19, Philadelphia, Pa. – Two BLA members are arrested with two suitcases containing guns

January 27, New York City – In the morning two patrolmen notice a car going through two red lights; when they approach to ask for a driver's license, the driver starts shooting. One patrolman is seriously wounded. In the evening, two policemen, Gregory Foster and Rocco Laurie, are shot in the back by at least three persons; four suspects are members of the Black Liberation Army. One suspect is later killed in a street battle with St. Louis police; the recovered pistol matches Officer Laurie's.

February 16, St. Louis, Mo. – A Black Liberation Army member tied to the shooting of Officers Foster and Laurie is killed in a gun battle with police; two others are arrested.

May 10, Columbia, S.C. – Four BLA members are arrested with guns.

August 8, Newark, N.J. – A BLA member who escapes after shooting a sergeant and patrolmen on April 19, 1971 is captured.

September 9, Brooklyn, N.Y. – Three BLA members, including one who escaped from DeKalb County, Ga. jail, are arrested.

October 7, Los Angeles, Calif. – A police car bombing is claimed by the Afro-American Liberation Army.

December 28, Brooklyn, N.Y. – An owner of a bar is kidnapped by the BLA and held for \$20,000 ransom.

1973

January 2, Brooklyn, N.Y. – During the robbery of a social club, BLA members shoot and kill a victim.

On the Black Liberation Army

January 10, Brooklyn, N.Y. – After being confronted on a subway station by a patrolman, a BLA member fires a shot and escapes into the tunnel.

January 12, Brooklyn, N.Y. – Two housing detectives are shot in front of a bar after stopping two BLA members.

January 23, Brooklyn, N.Y. – Two wanted BLA members are shot and killed by members of New York City police department after they are trapped in a bar. Two detectives are wounded.

January 25, Brooklyn, N.Y. – Two patrolmen brothers assigned to same case are machine-gunned down by the BLA.

January 28, Queens, N.Y. – Two patrolmen on patrol are machine gunned by the BLA.

February 9, Bronx, N.Y. – Members of the Black Liberation Army rob a bank.

February 23, Brooklyn, N.Y. – Two BLA members are arrested with a carload of explosives.

March 2, Brooklyn, N.Y. – A group of BLA members, stopped by officers looking for a robbery suspect, engages the officers in a gun battle.

March 6, Bronx, N.Y. – Three BLA members are recognized by two detectives, and engage them in a gun battle. BLA members are joined by two more and escape by stealing a car and machinegunning a police radio car.

March 27, Brooklyn, N.Y. – BLA members rob a supermarket.

April 10, Queens, N.Y. – BLA members rob a bank.

April 12, Brooklyn, N.Y. – Two telephone company men are held at gun point by the BLA when they are suspected of being police. They are told that they will killed if they have guns, radio or shields.

May 2, New Jersey Turnpike – Members of the BLA are arrested

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after a shoot-out; one State patrolman is killed, one BLA member is wounded, one BLA member dies, the driver; one escapes, but is subsequently captured in East Brunswick, N.J.

May 19, Mount Vernon, N.Y. – Two policemen are shot when they stop three BLA members pulling a stick-up.

June 5, New York City – a transit detective is killed when he stops two BLA members from entering without paying. Before he died he shot both of them; one is captured, and the other escapes.

June 7, Brooklyn, N.Y. – A BLA member is captured by New York City Police and FBI.

June 8, Brooklyn, N.Y. – Two other BLA members are captured.

July 18, Bronx, N.Y. – BLA members rob a bank.

September 2, New Orleans, La. – Members of New York City police department, New Orleans police department and the FBI capture a BLA member.

September 27, New York City – A BLA member is charged with the murder of Patrolmen Foster and Laurie; he escapes from King's County Hospital, but is captured on October 3.

November 7, New York City – A BLA member is arrested as he attempts to turn himself in for being absent without leave from the Army.

November 14, Bronx, N.Y. – Member of the Black Liberation Army is slain after three years of pursuit by police. This member is the seventh BLA member to die in police shoot-out; 18 others have been arrested.

December 27, New York City – Three BLA sympathizers are caught attempting to free BLA members from the Tombs when police see one of them emerging from a sewer manhole two blocks away, outside the corrections department design and engineering unit that houses blueprints.

On the Black Liberation Army

1974

April 17, New York City – Inside the Tombs, four BLA sympathizers, armed with two handguns and acetylene torch, attempt to free three BLA members; they flee when torch runs out of fuel.

May 3, New York City – After failing to release prisoners at the Tombs, BLA members flee to New Haven, Conn. where they rob a bank and shoot two policeman. Three are captured, and others escape.

June 2, New York City – BLA members attempt to shoot two policemen on the Delaware Bridge and are arrested; they have a large supply of guns.

August 5, Brooklyn, N.Y. – A female is arrested after attempting to smuggle hacksaw blades to BLA prisoners.

August 15, Brooklyn, N.Y. – One BLA member escapes, one is shot, and a third gives up after an escape attempt. The escapee is captured a few blocks away.

October 20, Connecticut State Prison – A white female is arrested trying to smuggle a gun to BLA prisoners.

1975

February 17, Rikers Island, N.Y. – BLA members are subdued by guards after getting the keys (with a wooden knife as a weapon) from a guard. Police receive a telephone call soon after the incident saying that five men armed with shotguns, one in a wetsuit, are setting off in three rafts; one raft is found with a map, a set of oars, swim fins, and three .38-caliber bullets and 9 mm bullets.

May 25, Brooklyn, N.Y. – A Black Liberation Army member falls to his death in an escape attempt. A second member is recaptured near the prison; two other BLA members return to their cells after the one fell.

1976

January 19, Trenton, N.J. At Trenton State Prison, there is an 11-hour rampage. One inmate who began the incident by shooting

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a guard in an escape attempt was killed in the opening exchange of gunfire. Another inmate who instigated the incident was convicted of murdering a State Trooper in a shoot-out between BLA members and police on the New Jersey Turnpike; inmates threw a home-made grenade at police and guards as they rescue a wounded guard.

The names of Comrades mentioned in these police reports have been omitted, as some are no longer functioning in the same capacity, or are imprisoned or dead. It is our policy not to reveal the names of Comrades who have acted within our organizational underground formations.

The defensive-offensive launched in 1970-71 politico-military initiatives was based upon the degree of repression suffered in the Black community due to COINTELPRO police attacks. The politico-military policy at that time was to establish a defensive (self-defense) front that would offensively protect the interest of the above-ground political apparatus aspiration to develop a mass movement towards national liberation. Again, it must be stated that in the early seventies, the Black underground was the armed-wing of the above ground BPP, which because of the split and factionalism, prevented adequate logistics, and communications between cadre(s) and focus in the Black underground in various parts of the country.

It was this situation which caused the greatest problem to the advent of the Black Liberation Army, upon which the commencement of armed struggle could be said to have been premature-premature in the sense that subjectively, our capacity to wage a sustained, protracted, national liberation war was not possible. This was due to the split in the above-ground political apparatus, the Black underground still depending on the above-ground for logistics and communications. The Black underground was comprised of militants who had not grown to political maturity, and were without a politico-military structure and strategy to merge the Black underground into a national formation employing both stable and mobile urban and rural guerrilla warfare, in conjunction with the rising militancy of the oppressed masses. In the same regard, an objective reality was present, that being a historical transition evolving from the civil rights movement; the riotous 1960s; the creation of the BPP chapters in Black communities across the country, which fought bravely against police attacks; and the mass mobilization in

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support of the Vietnamese national liberation war, etc. Hence, the commencement of armed struggle by our forces was according to the development of history.

By late 1971, it was ordered for the Black underground to enter a strategic retreat, to reorganize itself and build a national structure, but the call for the strategic retreat for many cadres was too late. Many of the most mature militants were already deeply underground, separated from those functioning with the logistics provided by BPP chapters who in the split served to support armed struggle. The repression of the State continued to mount, especially now that the Black underground was hampered by internal strife with the loss of the above-ground political support apparatus (with virtually no support coming from existing Black community groups and organizations). It should be stated, a major contradiction was developing between the Black underground and those Euro-American forces who were employing armed tactics in support of Vietnamese liberation struggle. By 1973-75, this contradiction became full blown, whereby specific Euro-American revolutionary armed forces refused to give meaningful material and political support to the Black Liberation Movement, more specifically, to the Black Liberation Army. Thereby, in 1974, the Black Liberation Army was without an above-ground political support apparatus, logistically and structurally scattered across the country without the means to unite its combat units, abandoned by Euro-American revolutionary armed forces, and being relentlessly pursued by the State reactionary forces – COINTELPRO (FBI, CIA and local police departments). Thus, it was only a matter of time before the Black Liberation Army would be virtually decimated as a fighting clandestine organization.

By 1974-75, the fighting capacity of the Black Liberation Army had been destroyed, but the BLA as a politico-military organization had not been destroyed. Since those imprisoned continued their escape attempts and fought political trials, they forged ideological and political theory concerning the building of the Black Liberation Movement and revolutionary armed struggle. The trials of Black Liberation Army members sought to place the State on trial, to condemn the oppressive conditions from which Black people had to eke out an existence in racist America. These trials went on for several years, which the courts and police used to embellish their position as being guardians of society. The State media publications projected the Black Liberation Army trials as justice being served to protect Black people from terrorism, to

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prevent these terrorists from starting racial strife between Black and white people, to protect the interest and lives of police who are responsible for the welfare of the oppressed communities, etc. The captured and confined BLA members were deemed terrorist, criminal, racist, but never revolutionaries, never humanitarians, never political activists. But the undaunted revolutionary fervor of captured BLA members continued to serve the revolution even while imprisoned. By placing the State on trial, the BLA was more able to expose the contradictions between the philosophy of the State to protect the rights of all people, and the actions of the State, which are only to protect the rights of the capitalist-class bourgeoisie. The BLA trials sought to undermine the State's attempts to play off the BLA as an insignificant group of crazies, and therefore the trials of BLA members became forums to politicize the masses of what the struggle and revolution is all about. The trials served to organize people to support those being persecuted and prosecuted by the State, as a means from which the oppressed masses would be able to protect themselves for future persecution. In this manner, the trials of the Black Liberation Army voiced the discontent, dissatisfaction, and disenfranchisement of Black people in racist America.

By late 1975, the Black Liberation Army established a Coordinating Committee, which was essentially comprised of imprisoned members and outside supporters gained during the years of political prosecution in the courts. The first task of the Coordinating Committee was to distribute an ideological and political document depicting the theoretical foundations of the political determination of the Black Liberation Army. This document was entitled, "A MESSAGE TO THE BLACK MOVEMENT – A Political Statement from the Black Underground." The Message to the Black Movement, put forth several political premises from which the BLA should be noted as a revolutionary political-military organization fighting for national liberation of Afrikan people in the United States.

In late 1975 and 1976, The Coordinating Committee distributed the first BLA newsletter, an organizational publication for the purpose of forging ideological and political clarity and unity between BLA members captured and confined in various parts of the country. The BLA newsletter began to serve as a means through which BLA members would voice their political understanding of the national liberation struggle, and in this way, for the entire organized body to share in ideas and strengthen our

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collective political determination as a fighting force. Over the years, the newsletter has served to help develop cadres inside and outside of prisons and to broaden the capacity from which the BLA could continue to serve the national liberation struggle. Also, in 1976, members of the Black Liberation Army launched a national campaign to petition the United Nations concerning the plight of political prisoners of war and conditions of the U.S. penal system, on behalf of the prison movement. The U.N. Prisoners Petition Campaign, initiated and directed by members of the BLA, virtually revitalized the prison movement across the country and forged impetus to the present Human Rights campaign to the United Nations. It was the U.N. Prisoners Petition Campaign that first called for an international investigation into the conditions of U.S. prisons, and called for the release of political prisoners of war to a non-imperialist country that would accept them. (Consequently, in 1998 another national campaign was launched entitled – “National POW Amnesty Campaign.”) Lastly, in 1976-77, the Coordinating Committee distributed what had been termed a Study Guide to captured members of the BLA as a means to consolidate the ideological perspectives from which the BLA would provide political leadership to the national liberation struggle.

Since 1974 to the present, the BLA has continuously provided ideological and political perspectives within the Black Liberation Movement, and in this way gave leadership to the movement. However, the Black Liberation Army is still lacking in principle support by progressive forces throughout the country. The primary aspect of lack of support is the fact that the BLA still calls for the need for armed struggle, and the building of a revolutionary armed front. The Black Liberation Army is a politico-military organization, which in the last five years has served to develop the political mass movement to merge with the political determination of the Black underground. The merger is based upon the development of a national politico-military strategy in unity with the aspirations and strategic initiatives of the various political organizations throughout the country. Consistently, the Black Liberation Army has called for the development of the Black Liberation Front or Black United Front, a united front of Black revolutionary nationalists, establishing the political determination of the class and national liberation struggle toward independence and for the freeing of the land. At this stage in struggle, there are several areas of progress being formulated

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that may serve to strengthen, consolidate, and mobilize the national liberation struggle under the aspirations of the oppressed Black masses. The building of the Afrikan National Prisoners Organization is a positive step in which various progressive Black forces can develop principled working relationships, alliances, and coalitions, and further build towards the Black Liberation Front. In the same regard, the development of the National Black Human Rights Coalition provides a means from which a greater number of Black organizations and groups representing oppressed Black masses can be educated, organized and mobilized to confront racist capitalist-imperialism, in conjunction with the heightened struggles in Namibia and Azania, and human rights violations here in North America. But it is imperative that these new formations develop a struggle line that supports the need for armed struggle to be waged in the United States, and therefore support of the oldest revolutionary armed force in North America – the Black Liberation Army.

It is practically 1980, and the Black Liberation Army (the Black underground) has been in existence for over ten years. The last ten years have been hard years of struggle; we have lost many Comrades, we have made many mistakes, but we have never lied nor compromised our principles in struggle. The growth and development of the BLA depends on the growth and development of the entire class and national liberation struggle. The means from which the BLA can build revolutionary armed struggle is based upon the willingness of the oppressed masses to support the BLA, to call for the BLA to act, to build areas of support in the work place, in the home, and the social places of entertainment, but most of all amongst the political organizations, and groups that the oppressed masses are affiliated with. It is essential and necessary that the general mass and popular movement understand the need for revolutionary armed struggle/forces to exist, and that the existence of the Black Liberation Army is the criteria from which the class and national liberation struggle will be preserved, as the socio-economic conditions of the U.S. monopoly-capitalism worsens, and as racist repression intensifies.

As mentioned earlier, another national political campaign has been launched. This new campaign calls for the release and/or exchange of captured members of the Black underground and other revolutionary forces across the country. But it must be understood that the principle objective of this campaign is to also build support for revolutionary armed struggle, employing

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international law and politics (specifically, Protocols of the Geneva Accords) concerning the existence of political prisoners of war in the United States. Thereby, supporting the release of political prisoners of war brings understanding of how these revolutionaries came to be imprisoned and the need for them to be released, as well as the need for revolutionary armed struggle. This is the challenge in uniting the mass and popular movements under the auspices of building the Black Liberation Front. It can only be objectively realized by supporting the re-emergence of the Black underground, the Black Liberation Army.

***SUPPORT THE BLACK LIBERATION ARMY !
BUILD THE NATIONAL POW AMNESTY CAMPAIGN!
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS OF WAR!***

Originally written on September 18, 1979, and printed in Arm the Spirit, the first national revolutionary prisoners newspaper. Since the original writing of this brief historical account of the BPP-BLA, Assata Shakur was liberated, and BLA soldiers were captured during the 1981 Nyack Brinks armored car expropriation.

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PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

This document is to provide political organizations with the essential theoretical and ideological perspective to formulate a political determination in building a campaign for the amnesty of political prisoners of war. The information herein discloses the basis from which the amnesty campaign must be part of the general prison movement united with the overall development of the class and national liberation struggle. A national program must be organized that will forge the amnesty campaign in all areas of the class and national liberation struggle, and further consolidate the prison movement within a national strategy for amnesty.

Although this document is theoretically confined to the conditions of African political prisoners of war, the concepts and political determination of the amnesty campaign will objectively build towards the liberation of political prisoners of war of all oppressed nations and classes.

We recognize the existence of Native American, Puerto Rican, Mexican–American, Asian and Euro–American political prisoners of war. Based upon this recognition all ideological and political concepts, goals and objectives mentioned in this document apply to all political prisoners of war in relation to their movements for national liberation, independence and sovereignty.

The historical determination that has led to this document stems from the history of struggle of oppressed nations and classes in the United States. It is in the background of struggle for class and national liberation that political prisoners of war came into existence, and the present need for an amnesty campaign becomes

Muntaqim, Jalil A. *We Are Our Own Liberators : Selected Prison Writings (2nd Edition)*.

Portland, OR, USA: Arissa Media Group, LLC, 2010. p 41.

<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/iupui/Doc?id=10447254&ppg=50>

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necessary. For Native Americans and Mexicans who have lost their land due to Euro-American conquests and wars of territorial aggression, for the chattel slavery and involuntary servitude of Africans and Asians, and for the colonial domination of Puerto Rico, Third World people in the United States have been forced to wage a struggle for civil and human rights, and further, to demand freedom and independence from continued socioeconomic and political domination, colonization, and racist genocidal control over their lives. In response to these struggles and demands, the United States government has established various laws and judicial procedures to prevent, hinder, and virtually liquidate any means by which the growth and development of their peoples' struggles can take place. With racism at the fore in the government scheme to control the national aspirations of the oppressed (neo) colonies, the U.S. government uses the police and judicial court system as the primary coercive measure to stifle national liberation struggles. This ultimately leads to many oppressed people being sent to prison for a variety of violations of U.S. laws. While in prison many members of the oppressed nations develop resistance to the inhumane and cruel treatment found throughout America's penal system. They continue to organize for civil and human rights, freedom and independence from racist colonial domination.

Oppressed persons locked away in the U.S. penal system are exposed to the most repressive measures the U.S. government has to offer in its attempts to prevent the continued growth and development of the class and national liberation struggle. In the United States, prisoners have rebelled against racism and inhuman living and working conditions. They have been killed en masse; dehumanized and degraded in such ways as forced sterilizations and drugging; confined in segregated areas and deprived of sensory and audible perceptions; and denied adequate diets, health care, and safe working conditions. The families of these prisoners have been harassed and treated in dehumanizing ways for visiting and writing to their loved ones. For the most part, a person entering the U.S. penal system is demeaned to the condition of a slave as mandated by the 13th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. These conditions are not the exception, but rather the daily situation and experience all prisoners may suffer while in any one of America's prisons. But for the political prisoners of war, whose imprisonment is directly based upon a conscious effort to rebel against continued racist genocide and colonialism, their confinement is even more abusive and dehumanizing.

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In this document political prisoners of war are defined as those prisoners who 'have consciously rebelled against prison administrators, inhumane work and living conditions, racism and guard-police brutality, and who have further exposed conditions to the public by organizing strikes, takeovers, and sit-in demonstrations supporting and building the prison movement in conjunction with the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist movement. They are those prisoners who have been confined for their political activity in the oppressed nation communities, for educating, organizing and mobilizing the oppressed people to resist (neo)colonialism. And they are those prisoners who have been imprisoned because of their direct military acts against a system of national oppression – for the liberation of an oppressed class or nation.' This definition categorizes and identifies a particular segment of the general prison population, and distinguishes these prisoners based upon their political determination to fight against domestic (neo)colonial rule. Hence these prisoners are politically motivated and conscious of their oppressive condition in relation to the overall condition of their oppressed nation with respect to their colonial enemies. These prisoners have either formulated an organized body of politico-military significance to wage war on the colonial government or are fighting in support of the general popular movement against racist capitalist imperialism.

THE COURSE OF STRUGGLE

African, Mexican-American, Native American, Asian, Puerto Rican and Euro-American political prisoners of war have been imprisoned or remain in prison because of the relationship of their oppressed nations to the colonial rule of the U.S. government. The Third World nations are all fighting wars of national liberation, seeking independence and sovereignty from capitalist exploitation.

African, Native American and Puerto Rican nationalists have in the past submitted documents to the United Nations pertaining to the confinement of their respective nationals languishing in the U.S. prisons. Each of these national liberation struggles has developed to the extent of having established revolutionary armed forces to combat the racist aggression of the State against their nationalist movements. Euro-Americans have also organized armed combat units, which in the past have committed acts

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of militant resistance to U.S. imperialism. Mexican and Asian nationals have resisted imperialist aggression in the mass formations through political organizations. The essential aspect is that resistance to the U.S. capitalist imperialism has been militant, employing armed units to combat U.S. colonial domination and capitalist exploitation.

In response to this resistance and the cries of the oppressed nationalities for freedom and independence, the U.S. government has implemented such aggressive policies as the Federal Bureau of Investigation – Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO). This program was originally put into effect in 1956 against the American Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, but by the early 1960s counterintelligence operations had been extended to the Puerto Rican nationalist movement, specifically against the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico. The U.S. government, employing the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency and local police departments, set out to disrupt and destroy the nationalist movement. By 1967 COINTELPRO operations had been extended to the civil rights struggle and the national liberation movements of Native Americans, Mexican Americans, Asians, and Africans inside the United States. In the case of Africans in America, the Federal Bureau of Investigation declared war against their national liberation movement. A memorandum issued by the former director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover, dated February 29, 1968, stated:

- 1 Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real “Mau Mau” in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.
- 2 Prevent the rise of a “Messiah” who could unify and electrify the militant black nationalist movement. Malcolm X might have been such a “messiah”; he is the martyr of the movement today.
- 3 Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. Through counter intelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential trouble makers

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and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

- 4 Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to the separate segments of the community.
5. A final goal should be to prevent the long range growth of militant black nationalist groups, especially youth...

This synopsis of the FBI directive to destroy the Black Liberation Movement in North America provides an insight to which the FBI used COINTELPRO and virtually declared war on the nationalist movement. This criteria used against black nationalists is basically the same policy used against all other nationalist formations within the United States.

U.S. government aggression intended to either contain and control or disrupt and destroy these national liberation movements, and the government's use of force and violence made it necessary for these nationalists to arm themselves and organize revolutionary armed units to combat U.S. aggression. Thus, the advent of the Black Liberation Army, the Armed forces of the Liberation of Puerto Rico (FALN), the Symbionese Liberation Army, armed confrontations of the American Indian Movement and the Republic of New Africa against U.S. racist colonialism and various other clandestine groups. Even in prison, militant armed formations such as the Black Guerrilla Family were established to fight against racist attacks and prison guard brutality.

These revolutionary armed forces began to ferment an armed presence in the various national liberation struggles, establishing armed struggle as a necessary means to secure national liberation from racist-genocidal colonial domination. It is within the context of the development of revolutionary armed struggle strengthening national liberation struggles that the existence of political prisoners of war must be viewed, and the basis from which an amnesty campaign must be organized.

These national liberation struggles' primary objectives are winning self-determination and independence from colonial domination. It is necessary to unite these struggles with the national liberation struggles being fought in various parts of

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the world (e.g., Palestine, Azania, Peru, Ireland). To develop an international anti-imperialist perspective within nationalist struggles in the U.S., and further forge the means from which amnesty of political prisoners of war will be supported by progressives throughout the world. This is essential in order to bring pressure on the U.S. government to release political prisoners of war and/or have them exchanged and released to a non-imperialist country that will accept them.

In broadening the theoretical and ideological foundation of this document, it is necessary to elucidate on the international concepts of national wars against colonialism and fore self-determination, and United Nations sanctions afforded political prisoners of war.

INTERNATIONAL LAW ON WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AGAINST COLONIALISM AND FOR SELF DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE

Since the European conquest of North America, the genocidal slaughter of Native Americans, African chattel slavery, Asian involuntary servitude, and the territorial aggression against Mexican land, these oppressed nations through the centuries have fought for national liberation and the regaining of lost territory, self-determination over their lives, and independence from U.S. colonial domination. Accordingly, Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states:

- 1. Everyone has a right to a nationality.**
- 2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.**

In the case of Africans in America, they have been deprived of their national origin by the U.S. government, named Negro's and Black – but not Africans, which is their national origin and heritage. Native Americans have had their various nations decimated by the genocidal actions of corralling them into Federal Reservations, thereby denying them a national identity. Thus it is determined that the U.S. has violated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Such violations ensure further violations of international standards of the rights of colonized peoples, such as

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the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Here the international courts states in Article II:

...In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, such as:

- a. Killing members of the group;*
- b. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;*
- c. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;*
- d. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;*
- e. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.*

Article III further states:

The following shall be punishable:

- a) Genocide;*
- b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;*
- c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;*
- d) Attempt to commit genocide;*
- e) Complicity in genocide.*

It should be understood that the crime of genocide is against international law in times of war and peace. The historical aspects of colonialism, as employed in the United States against oppressed nations, has been one of continued implementations of containment, control and in certain instances, the destruction of the growth and development of a particular group. This can be more so evaluated considering the degree to which sterilization programs have been carried out in oppressed nation communities; the trafficking of drugs; constant police killings of oppressed people; and the wholesale imprisonment of Africans, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, Asians and Mexican people. The American penal system is presently comprised of 78 percent Third World people, while such people make up less than 20 percent of the total American population.

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Hence, U.S. colonial rule has been found to be against international law (the deprivation of national identity and genocide) which gives cause for these colonized people to wage national liberation struggle against continued colonization. The United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples affirms:

...the inherent right of colonial people to struggle by all means at their disposal against colonial powers which suppress their aspirations for freedom and independence...

While the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights states:

All people have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

The inherent right of colonized peoples to secure self-determination and independence is further granted protection as “peoples” is defined by the United Nations Charter and Covenant. The traditional definitions of an ethnic group as people linked by a common history with requirements of common territory, religion and language, have been criticized as being “unduly harsh” due to the vicissitudes of history where there may be a loss of territory or involuntary dispersal of their populace. A more subjective view is urged which considers it essential for a people to have a present ethos or state of mind; and a more practical definition is of a group or people entitled to self-determination’s call for a nation, a people, a nationality possessing a common territory, and most often a common language who are united in a struggle for national liberation. In light of the traditional and modern definitions of a “people which is entitled to self-determination,” the colonial status of oppressed nations in the United States meets all demands preserved by international law. These colonized nations have a distinct national origin, social and cultural identity that separates them from their colonizers and establishes the criteria of peoplehood. Hence the inherent dignity of the human person within a body or group is preserved and the thrust for self-determination is that a people – if it so wills – is entitled to independence from foreign domination, and may establish a

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sovereign state in the territory in which it constitutes a majority.

The right of self-determination for all peoples is within the spirit of customary international law as defined in the Covenants on Human Rights. Therefore the principle of self determination is intimately related to the development of fundamental human rights, upon which Article 2 (3) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ensures that any person(s) whose rights or freedoms have been abridged shall have an effective remedy. The violations of fundamental human rights and exercising of self determination is based upon whether a people:

1. Is governed according to the will of the people;
2. Where there is an absence of internal or external domination;
3. Having free pursuit of economic, social and cultural development;
4. Enjoying the fundamental human rights and equality before the law; and
5. The absence of discrimination based upon race, color, class, caste, creed or political conviction.

It can be easily affirmed that the United States government fails to preserve each of these five points by which Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Africans in America have petitioned the United Nations for redress of said violations, charging the United States government with the practice of racist genocide and colonial domination. (See U.N. document E/CN.4/Sub.2/NGO/75, pertaining to racism and the conditions of political prisoners in the U.S. penal system; also see U.N. document submitted by Native Americans – E/CN.4/Sub.2/NGO/67.) The most recent petition submitted to the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities by the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, and the United Church of Christ – Commission for Racial Justice, on December 11, 1978, presented factual, historical documentation of human rights violations affecting domestic colonized peoples in the United States, specially in regards to political prisoners.

The United Nations General Assembly in Resolution 3103 (XXVIII) on December 12, 1973, emphatically reaffirmed that:

...the continuation of colonialism in all its forms and

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manifestations, as noted in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of October 1970, is a crime and that colonial peoples have the inherent right to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against colonial powers and alien domination in exercise of their rights of self determination recognized in this Charter of the United Nations...

Because the United States is member and party to the United Nations charter (Universal Declaration of Human Rights) – which is a Treaty approved by the U.S. Senate on July 28, 1945, and as such is part of the supreme law of the land (see *Amaya vs. Stanolind Oil and Gas Co.*, 158 F. 2d 554, cert.denied 331 U.S. 808, 67 S.Ct. 1191, 91 L. Ed. 1828; also see Article Six of the U.S. Constitution making all Treaties part of the “Supreme Law of the Land”), and because case law asserts that the U.S. judicial system has no right to annul or disregard provisions of Treaties upon any motion of equity, general convenience, or substantial justice as put forth in *King Feature Syndicate vs. Valley Broadcasting Company*, 43 F. Supp. 137, affirmed 133 F.2d 127 (CA 5, 19); violations of said Treaties in continuing to hold domestic colonies against their inherent rights to self-determination, makes it incumbent upon these oppressed colonies to wage wars of national liberation for independence and sovereignty.

INTERNATIONAL LAW ON POLITICAL PRISONERS OF WAR

Based upon the foregoing, recognizing that oppressed nations in the United States have been waging national liberation struggles for independence and sovereignty; that the U.S. government has instituted repressive military (COINTELPRO) campaigns to suppress, liquidate, and neutralize these national liberation struggles; and that these national liberation struggles for self-determination have evolved revolutionary armed forces to combat the repression of the State; and furthermore that international law preserves the right of these colonies to wage such a liberation struggle; it is necessary to also recognize the existence of political prisoners of war.

Recognizing the purpose of the FBI/CIA joint COINTELPRO programs and the manner in which they were employed will serve

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to provide understanding as to who are political prisoners of war and why they exist. The points elucidated above concerning COINTELPRO show its primary goal was to prevent the building of the “true black revolution” or any real national liberation struggle in this country. This means the government military campaigns employed were subversion and infiltration, electronic and physical surveillance, armed military attacks, and covert operations to neutralize political leaders by means of assassination, imprisonment on false accusations, and forcing them into exile by setting them up to be killed or imprisoned. These operations by the FBI/CIA and local police departments under the tutelage of the Federal Government, which caused thousands to be imprisoned for their political beliefs and for implementing their First Amendment right to voice dissent to government actions, were belligerent military aggression – and in many instances, overkill.

This declared war by the government against national liberation forces was in disregard of international law and the governing principles of human rights. Once the political person was imprisoned they were further humiliated and degraded, as government operations under the auspices of COINTELPRO continued. In December of 1973, the House Committee on Internal Security released a report entitled “Revolutionary Target: The American Penal System.” In June 1974, the FBI initiated a conference called the “National Symposium on Penal Institutions as a Revolutionary Target.” Out of this conference, the FBI initiated the “Extremist, Revolutionary, Terrorist, and Subversive Activities in Penal Institutions Program” in July of 1974. The government continued to wage its campaign to control, contain, and neutralize these freedom fighters. Those imprisoned for their political beliefs and those revolutionaries who are imprisoned for direct attacks on the system of racist oppression continued to be harassed, brutalized and killed while in prison. Because of the degree of political activism in prison, many persons originally imprisoned for criminal offenses began to gain a political consciousness about their incarceration and the relationship of their oppressed nations to the “State of Colonialism.” Many of these prisoners affiliated themselves with political organizations and movements, and/or organized a prison group to combat inhumane prison conditions and violence perpetuated by prison administrators and racists. This situation has developed to the extent that the U.S. penal system is a hotbed of political activism where political prisoners and POWs continue to serve the class

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and national liberation struggles.

Political prisoners of war are protected by international law, as they are members of organized bodies of oppressed colonies fighting for national liberation and self-determination. General Assembly Resolution 2621 (XXV) specifically provides in (6) (A) that “[all freedom fighters under detention shall be treated in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Geneva Convention Relation to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, of 12 August 1949” (United Nations, Treaty Series, Vol. 75 [1950]). Subsequent solutions of the General Assembly reaffirmed the legitimacy of the “peoples” struggle for liberation from colonial and foreign domination by all means available, including armed struggle (see #2708 [14 December 1970]; 33070 [XXVIII] [30 November 1975]); and that persons participating in resistance movements for independence and self-determination, in case of arrest be treated as Prisoners of War in accordance with principles of the Geneva Convention (see #2852 XXVI [20 December 1971]; #3103 XXVIII [12 December 1973]). This is important based upon the fact that the U.S. government continued to attack these political prisoners of war in its efforts to prevent the development and fruition of national liberation struggles.

To broaden the political and legal ramifications of these documents pertaining to political prisoners of war, it is necessary to direct consideration to specific conditions of imprisonment and the international law which the U.S. Government is in violation of for those conditions. For instance, the 13th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution mandates that all prisoners are slaves of the State. The 13th Amendment reads as follows:

Section 1

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime whereof the party has been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

This constitutional amendment is against several international charters, specifically the Declaration of Human Rights, Article 4, which states:

“No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.”

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Also, the Convention Concerning the Abolition of Forced Labour, 1957 (which noted the referendums of the Slavery Convention of 1926, the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery of 1956, and similar United Nations injunctions against slavery), states in Article 1:

Each member of the International Labour Organization which ratifies this Convention undertakes to suppress and not make use of any form of forced or compulsory labour:

- a. As means of political coercion or education or as a punishment for holding or expressing political views or views ideologically opposed to the established political, social or economic system;*
- b. As a method of mobilizing and using labour for purpose of economic development;*
- c. As a means of labour discipline;*
- d. As a punishment for having participated in strikes;*
- e. As a means of racial, social, national or religious discrimination.*

For the political prisoner of war whose incarceration is based upon clear opposition to colonialism by the U.S. government, whose colonial domination is based on racism and national oppression, the use of the 13th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution against persons imprisoned for asserting their political beliefs, and fighting for the manifestations of such ideals in the course of waging a war of national liberation, serves as a double aberration against the POW according to international law.

To further establish the status of the political prisoner of war based upon international charters, the Additional Protocols (I and II) to the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949, adopted on June 8, 1977 by the Diplomatic Conference on Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law applicable to Armed Conflict expanded the Geneva Convention to protect those fighting against colonialism and foreign domination, and conferred prisoner of war status to anti-colonial freedom fighters.

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Article 1, concerning the scope of the Convention's application provides, under paragraph (4):

The situation referred to in the preceding paragraph includes armed conflict in which peoples are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes, in exercise of self-determination, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

This paragraph specifically applies the protections of the Geneva Convention to wars of national liberation, and codifies what has been recognized by most countries of the world, that such wars have an international character for the purpose of the application of humanitarian law. Article 43 of the Additional Protocol provides that the armed forces of a Party to a conflict “consists of all organized armed forces, groups and units which are under command and responsible to the Party for the conduct of its subordinates, even if that Party is represented by a government or authority not recognized by an adverse Party.”

Article 44 in defining Combatants and Prisoners of War, recognizes that “owing to the nature of hostilities, an armed combatant can not always distinguish himself from the civilian population and that, provided that such combatant carries his arms openly during each military deployment preceding the launching of an attack, he shall retain his status as a combatant.”

In determining whether a combatant is a prisoner of war, Article 45 of the Additional Protocol provides that a combatant shall be presumed to be a prisoner of war and shall be entitled to that status “until such time as his status has been determined by a competent tribunal.”

Paragraph (2) of Article 45, an offense arising out of hostilities “he shall have the right to assert his entitlement to prisoner of war status before a judicial tribunal and to have the question adjudicated.”

Finally, Article 75, among other protection, provides the right to be tried by a fair and impartial tribunal and prohibits imposing a heavier penalty and impartial tribunal than applicable

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at the time of the offense. The spirit of Article 45, as well as the entire Additional Protocol 1, is to confer as liberally as possible prisoners of war protection on legitimate national liberation combatants.

The United States is a signatory to the Geneva; it was ratified by the Senate in 1955. The ratification of the treaty was accomplished without major disagreement. The opening statement of the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee conveys the overwhelming acceptance of the principles of this document:

Since the U.S. has long been associated with efforts to prescribe humane standards of treatment for POWs... we welcome this opportunity to proceed with these four humanitarian instruments whose purpose is to relieve and reduce the suffering of those caught in the maelstrom of armed conflict. (See Smith, The Geneva Prisoner of War Convention: An Appraisal, 42 NYU. L.Rev. 880,886 fn.24).

Hence, the Treaty has full force under U.S. Law (6U.S.T.3516, TIAS.#3336). The Supreme Court has specifically recognized the applicability of prior Prisoner of War conventions to belligerents who qualify under the language of these covenants. See *Es Parte Quirin*, 317 U.S. 1, 31 (1942 "Lawful combatants are subject to capture and detention as prisoners of war by opposing military forces"). See also *In Re Yamashita*, 327 U.S. 1 (1945, applying 1929 Geneva Convention); *Ex parte Milligan*, 71 U.S. 1 (1866). Although the Court in *Quirin* and *Yamashita* found that the defendant's actions were not protected by the prevailing POW conventions, the Court recognized that the Conventions and the force of law would protect proper combatants. In determining the application of the Geneva Convention to those presently imprisoned, the courts should follow the principles set forth in *Factor v. Laubeneimwe*, 290 U.S., 292-4(1933):

...if a Treaty fairly admits of two constructions, one restricting the rights which may be claimed under it, the other enlarging it, the more liberal construction is to be preferred.

The United Nations Charter is also a Treaty of the United

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States (59 Stat. 1035[1945]), part of the Supreme Law of the Land, and binding upon U.S. Courts. (See *Oyama vs. California*, 322 U.S. 633, 673 [1948, Murphy and Rutledge, concurring]; and *The Paquette Habana*.) Article 55(c) and 56 of the U.N. Charter create the obligation on its signatories to observe “human rights and fundamental freedoms,” and this is given further specificity by the General Assembly Resolutions and the Declaration of the United Nations Decolonization Committee. The United Nations General Assembly Resolutions specifically recognized the right of “dependent” peoples to use any means necessary, including armed and violent means, to fight colonialism. The resolutions further recognize that captured anti-colonial freedom fighters must be treated as Prisoners of War in accordance with the Geneva Convention. In addition to the Treaty Clause, which mandates consideration of POW status, the Ninth Amendment and federal common law require that POW status be considered. Federal law and federal court decision have recognized the existence of the “law of civilized nations,” which inures to the people. (See e.g. 28 U.S.C. sec. 341 and 28 U.S.C. sec. 462: *In Re Yamashita*, 327 U.S. 1, 73 fn. 36 [1945, Rutledge dissenting, recognizing the Geneva Convention as creating civilized rules of International Warfare]: *United States vs. Toscanimo*, 500 F. 2d.267, 276–78[2nd Cir. 1975].)

The law of human rights and civilized nations can be applied to create a remedy under federal common law. (See e.g., *Bivens vs. Six Unknown Named Agents*, 403 U.S. 388[1971]; *Bell vs. Hood*, 327 U.S. 678; *Textile Workers Union vs. Lincoln Mills*, 353 U.S. 488[1956]); as can the concept of the basic human rights retained by the people under the Ninth Amendment. Under either theory, the right of the captured anti-colonial freedom fighter to be treated as a Prisoner of War, rather than as a common criminal, is recognized in the Law of Nations and confers a protected status on all political prisoners of war presently confined in the U.S. penal system.

BUILDING THE NATIONAL PRISONER OF WAR AMNESTY CAMPAIGN

Based upon the above, both international and U.S. federal law determines that persons confined for engaging in wars of national liberation against U.S. racist colonialism must be

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afforded status as POWs, according to the Geneva Conventions. It is therefore necessary for political activists and organizations to recognize the validity of these political prisoners of war's call for amnesty and to fight for their release from prison or exchange to a non-imperialist country that will accept them.

Not long ago the American public witnessed the U.S. government exchange of dissidents from Russia for Russian secret agents. We have seen the same in respects to Cuba; and also with the exchange of prisoners between the U.S. and Mexico. On December 24, 1977, the Premier of Cuba, Fidel Castro, offered to exchange certain persons in Cuban prisons for poor Black and Third World peoples in U.S. prisons. This offer by Fidel Castro must be commended, but also sought out to insure the actual exchange. This type of exchange should be considered through the governments of Angola, Tanzania, Zambia, and Mozambique (frontline Nations supporting the Patriotic Front) who may have captured American mercenaries and CIA operatives. The prospects for establishing the basis of exchange is based upon the amnesty campaign building an international perspective and political determination. This determination would project U.S. political prisoners of war as legitimate freedom fighters against U.S. racist colonialism, thereby forging the national liberation struggle of their oppressed nations into the international political arena. It would be necessary to propagate the amnesty campaign to the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of American States, the Non-aligned Nations, the OPEC nations and various progressive international bodies and groups.

Nationally, the amnesty campaign must establish a national conference to forge strategies that will afford the campaign the unified strength of many groups and progressives, building tactical and strategic objectives to provide the means to win amnesty for U.S. political prisoners of war. The many groups and organizations need to build toward concerted actions both as part of the national prison movement, and as one that will address itself specifically to the demands of amnesty for political prisoners of war.

The United Nations prisoners petition campaign of 1976 through 1977 (U.N. document E/CN.4/Sub.2/NGO/75), submitted to the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities by members of the Black Liberation Army on behalf of U.S. political prisoners requested the U.N. Human Rights Commission to adopt the following recommendations:

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1. The U.N. would appoint an International Commissioner to investigate the genocidal implications of the overwhelming Third World population in prisons across the country, and the existence of racist groups within prison administrations;
2. Investigate drug/behavior modification units; their uses, methods, prisoner selection, racial makeup, drug used, medication in food, resulting deaths and forced sterilizations;
3. Investigate inhumane treatment of prisoners, which we recognize to include assassination, torture, and brutality;
4. Investigate the U.S. government COINTELPRO (counter intelligence program) and FBI coercion to frame and set up people in order to imprison or murder them;
5. Investigate forced labor, slave wages and involuntary servitude; guarantee minimum wages;
6. Set up a U.N. Court where political prisoners have the right to be tried. Already convicted political prisoners should be retried or be able to appeal to a U.N. Court with automatic appeals;
7. Provide political prisoners of war the opportunity to be given their freedom to any other non-capitalist imperialist country that will accept them;
8. Investigate forced interstate transfers and the establishment of concentration camps for the special oppression of political prisoners;
9. The U.S. should recognize the existence of political prisoners of war in the United States.

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These recommendations must be binding on all those working in support of the amnesty campaign to project as the goals and objectives to attain in the course of building the campaign and substantiating the prison movement on national and international levels.

CONCLUSION

It has been put forth in this document that the course of struggle is based upon the oppressed classes and nations fighting for an end to racist colonial domination and capitalist exploitation by U.S. imperialism. It has also been determined that these oppressed nations have a right governed by international law to wage armed struggle for self-determination and independence. It has been determined that U.S. imperialism has employed COINTELPRO operations, the FBI/CIA and local police departments to contain, control and/or disrupt and destroy these national liberation struggles using military and covert tactics. The U.S. government, in its efforts to prevent the rise of revolution, has imprisoned thousands of political dissidents, many of whom were revolutionaries engaged in armed combat against racism and genocide perpetrated by U.S. imperialism. Furthermore, these captured political prisoners of war continue to suffer while in prison, based upon extended COINTELPRO operations in the penal system and penal laws that are in violation of international law (13th Amendment).

With this understanding of the conditions from which political prisoners of war come into existence, and with the continuation of these struggles for national liberation enhancing the prospects for further United Nations charter violations; and given that national liberation struggles led by the South West African Peoples Organization, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Pan-African Congress, and the Patriotic Front were legitimately recognized and governed by the principles of the Law of Nations; and that Puerto Rico has been judged a colony of the U.S. government; it is therefore necessary that the development of the amnesty campaign be based on the principles of the Laws of Nations, and that progressives throughout the Americas recognize these conditions in all of their support of the prison movement.

It is essential that progressives begin to support armed

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struggle as a legitimate politico-military initiative in the anti-colonial/anti-imperialist movement, and that the class and national liberation struggle begin to call for the exchange of political prisoners of war who have been captured due to their involvement in armed struggle. It is essential that revolutionaries who have been captured for organizing the oppressed masses against U.S. racist genocide be released from prison and that those prisoners who have rebelled against inhumane prison conditions be granted clemency. All victims of COINTELPRO must be released from prison.

The prison struggle within the United States is potentially the largest organized body of progressive-revolutionaries throughout the country – revolutionaries who have the best advantage to build a movement based upon the concrete conditions of the repressive measures of the State. This movement is quantitatively at a greater level of struggle than those on the streets, primarily because many of those imprisoned are the most politically educated, determined and inspired individuals in the country, many of whom had been leaders on the streets before their imprisonment. Also, because of the direct frontline relationship between prisoners and representatives of the State, the repressive measures of the State are combatted more vigorously and relentlessly. The ideological perspective that emanates from the prison movement conceptually concerns itself with the entire class and national liberation movement. It builds revolutionary consciousness toward human and organizational relationships that forge united political actions amongst many progressive forces within the various oppressed class and national struggles for self-determination and independence.

It is hereby called for all progressive-revolutionaries in support of the prison movement to recognize this amnesty campaign as a major priority in their organizational program, and begin to give direct political and material support to the development of the National POW Amnesty Campaign.

***REVOLUTION AND LIBERATION IN OUR LIFETIME
¡VENCEREMOS!***

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The purpose of this book is to forge theoretical and political determination within the class and national liberation struggles. Such determination will destroy the lackadaisical and erroneous concepts many “leftists” hold about revolutionary armed struggle. My primary premise is that our struggle must become more militant, with a greater anticipation of armed confrontation with the enemy(s) of the poor and oppressed masses. I do not present an elaborate evaluation of the present political condition, nor an in-depth historical analysis of what has brought us to the present level of struggle. My intent is to discuss particular objective realities and circumstances that the class and national liberation struggle is now confronted with, and to provide the theoretical concepts, principles, and policies of revolution that have been tested in past revolutions as they are applicable to our situation today.

Many “leftists” in the class and national liberation struggle have labeled individuals or groups who advocated revolutionary armed struggle “ultra-leftist” or “leftist-reactionary.” These erroneous postulations have ill effects on the entire revolutionary movement. They tend to strip the revolutionary movement of its militancy and prevent certain measures of defense from developing with a greater participation from the oppressed masses on local, regional, and national levels. Thus, those who partake in armed actions are not only fighting monopoly-capitalist enemies, but are also isolated and abandoned by those claiming to be progressive political activists and revolutionaries. It is my belief for the most part that those who condemn revolutionary armed struggle are either in cahoots with U.S. imperialism, seeking to subvert and defuse the revolutionary development of the mass and popular movement, or lack understanding of the necessity of the revolutionary armed struggle and thus speak in unprincipled

Muntaqim, Jalil A. *We Are Our Own Liberators : Selected Prison Writings (2nd Edition)*.

Portland, OR, USA: Arissa Media Group, LLC, 2010. p 61.

<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/iupui/Doc?id=10447254&ppg=70>

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ways on issues they know little about. They fear the repression of the State in defense of its continued existence. In the mean-time, those who engage in revolutionary armed actions must struggle against pseudo-revolutionaries who negate armed struggle and postulate political theories from safe positions in “progressive” publications and closed-to-the-public sectarian meetings.

Urban and rural guerrilla warfare must establish a political and military strategy that embraces the political determination of the mass and popular movement, and it must forge such a movement toward class and national liberation struggle. Urban and rural guerrilla warfare must apply to such a politico-military strategy directly to the disenfranchised workers and oppressed nationalities’ struggle for socioeconomic and political stability. When the oppressed nationalities and workers strike, march, and demonstrate their discontent and dissatisfaction with racist, capitalist-imperialism, guerrillas must support such actions through revolutionary armed actions – especially when this can accentuate the oppressed masses’ discontent by attacking the various agents of oppression the oppressed masses are rebelling against.

This unification of political and military activity in the mass and popular movement will eventually develop a culture of armed resistance and intensify the struggle towards class and national liberation. It is this development of a culture of armed resistance which continuously intensifies the revolutionary struggle that will preserve the momentum and growth of the revolution. Thus, growth and development through a culture of armed resistance ensures the prospects of the overthrow of U.S. imperialism.

In this book, I elucidate three types of organizational structures; these are not absolutes, but for the most part are the structures most relied upon and used in today’s revolutions. Thus, they do not exclude the creative imagination or ingenuity of the various nationalities in developing organizational structures that are culturally imperative or applicable to a particular time, circumstance or environmental situation. For instance, through the revolutionary international, there has been much debate on the advantage and disadvantage of the “foco” theory and “column” system of clandestine guerrilla formations.

Whether these organizational structures can be successfully applied in America have yet to be proven. The “foco” motor theory has been tested by several guerrilla formations in North America with little success. But whether failures have been due to

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structural defects or lack of politico-military strategy and correct leadership is still debatable. While I am unfamiliar with any attempts to implement the column system in North America, this clandestine organizational structure has gained significant success in Latin American and various European countries.

My major point is that a blueprint for building revolutionary armed struggle has not been developed. Thus, revolutionaries must be capable of constructing organizational structures that satisfy the needs, purposes, and goals of revolutionary warfare.

I would like to comment here on the right-wing thrust of racist capitalist-imperialism. Within the government, various right-wing forces are working toward an overt, military coup under the pretense that the democratic electoral process is failing. Past and present U.S. presidents have secured greater executive authority over Congress and legislative bodies of government, and have build closer relationships with the military. General Haig's brief intercession in the White House during the last days of the Nixon regime is but one example of terror. Jimmy Carter filled various cabinet and national security positions with old navy cronies, as he made frequent trips to his military retreat at Camp David and increased the already huge military budget. In light of the decline of U.S. imperialism throughout the world, the threat of a new world war looms as the only means by which U.S. imperialism can recover from its defensive posture as national liberation struggles of oppressed nations take the offensive in bringing to an end imperialist (Zionist, apartheid and fascist monarchical) neo-colonial domination.

U.S. imperialist warmongers are strengthening their positions with right-wing political forces in government and corporate-industrial, military-complex financial support. Fascism is broadening its capacity to emerge as an open policy-making force in North America. This development in government can be greatly compromised if revolutionary nationalists and internationalists begin to develop an anti-fascist political program within the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist movement. Such a program must stifle and prevent the attempts of Edward Kennedy to force the new Federal Criminal Code (the old Senate Bill 1) through Congress; it must prevent the military draft from being reinstated; it must call for Vietnam veterans to join the revolution and to infiltrate the U.S. military rank and file. It is my anticipation that the practical means to subvert the U.S. military is through its military prisons (which hold a disproportionate number of Black and Third

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World people, just as do the civilian prisons) and by bringing out the contradictions of racism and sexism that pervade the U.S. military.

In closing, I must state I am not a writer. But every word of this book is my own. This is how I view the development of the class and national liberation struggle at this stage of my personal development within the revolution being waged in North America.

This book is offered as a treatise for revolutionary nationalists and internationalists to discuss and develop in direct relationship to their own levels of resistance in struggle. Undoubtedly, it is not the last word on revolutionary armed struggle in North America. But it is hoped it will provide a beacon for the future course of politico-military action in the American revolution.

February 21, 1979
Auburn State Prison New York, U.S.A.

CONCEPTS OF REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

The versatility of Revolutionary Leadership is based upon rational-empirical and acquired knowledge. Such knowledge through practice and understanding develops personal wisdom toward adhering to principles and laws which dictate governing policies of action (activity), according to the particularities of a given situation and environmental conditions. Working from the maxim "circumstances make men as well as men make circumstances" enables revolutionary leaders to make adequate analysis of various problems which confront them, and to overcome obstacles which prevent forward progress in either organizational development or the fulfillment of political programs, the direction and momentum of the struggle.

Revolutionary leadership varies in degree according to the responsibility and obligation of the individual. Most people have the potential to become leaders: from cadre-squad leader, to the committee, collective or commune leader, to the coalition-alliance leadership, to the party-front leadership, each level of responsibility dictates certain obligations and experiences of the leader, to maintain order, discipline, and conscious, deliberate

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political activity in relationship to a particular course of action. As soon as a person is thoroughly versed in the principles of revolutionary analysis (i.e. dialectical historical materialism) and the science of Marxist-Leninist, Mao Tse Tung thought, and understands the historical dialectical experiences of such principles applicable to revolutionary nationalism and internationalism (Castro, Cabral, Malcolm X, Ho Chi Min) he/she is subjectively capable of taking leadership positions. But not until one is able to associate and apply these principles in direct relationship to the socio-economic and political conditions of class and national liberation struggle, will the objective base for determining the qualities of revolutionary leadership be established, and thus the integration of theory and practice.

Where is Revolutionary Leadership Found?

Leadership in revolution is found in the heart of the struggle, in those working amongst the workers and the masses, educating, organizing and mobilizing the poor and oppressed against racist, capitalism-imperialism. Amongst the masses we will find those men and women who have clarity of mind and understanding of a given situation (strike, demonstration, riots, street-fighting) and who will be at the core of building the resistance, of setting up means (underground hospitals, escape routes, safe houses, transportation, etc.) for combatants to continue the fight. These are the people who take control of spontaneous uprisings prior to the professional revolutionaries and/or party members entering the area. They are the people who establish cadres to patrol the community and watch the police and national guard, who develop food lines, house the homeless, and take up the essential block by block administration of the community in the height of revolutionary warfare and when the State has declared martial law in its campaign against the urban guerrilla. Such leadership is the most important throughout the struggle because it is the foundation from which the ill-trained, ill-experienced, ill-equipped will join the revolution, swell the ranks of the party(s) and armed guerrilla units, and assure the inevitable victory of the revolution. In the course of building the revolutionary movement, the majority of those individuals who join the struggle, who participate in the various organizations/parties/fronts and eventually, through contact work, hardships and self-sacrificing contribution to the

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revolution rise to leadership positions, will come from various segments of the working class.

One segment will be from lower and middle class students and workers, and the other will be from the lumpen-proletariat. The students and workers may join the revolution because of class and/or national aspirations of the struggle. The student and worker will search for alternatives to the existing mode of social order. Each has a particular and personal interest in the revolution. The students who learn of the inequities and disenfranchisement of class divisions and national oppression through their academic quest will seek reasons, causes and effects, and possible solutions to the problem besetting America's social order, all which will guide some to revolution.

Students will bring various political perspectives and concerns together, especially those that directly affect the educational system. For example, the "Bakke decision" forged discussions and debate about the ramifications of racism and so-called reverse discrimination in opposition to affirmative action. Just as the Vietnam war brought issues of colonialism and imperialism onto college campuses, the national liberation war in South Africa, Palestine, and various parts of Latin America are developing a political basis from which students will recognize that the world is in turmoil, and that this touches all aspects of American society. These internal and external phenomenons of social strife will cause students to gain a deeper insight into the historical foundation and present day working of the philosophical, socio-economics and political determination of U.S. imperialism. The political struggles taking root on college campuses, high schools, and elementary schools (especially as a result of desegregation and busing) will eventually cause questions to be raised as to why these problems exist, and how to overcome them.

Some students will seek to change the system from within; by acquiring socio-political government positions, they will present either legal reform and institute socialist philosophies as the means of breaking down the present racist (neo-colonial) foundation on which U.S. imperialism is based. This avenue of working within the system can foster philosophical-ideological change, and through reform, preservation and restoration of democratic rights, inhibit the government's continued practices of overt national oppression. But students can only do this to the extent that it does not affect the military-industrial complex's motive for profit. Thus, these students' mode will be of compromise and

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conciliation, maintaining the system by giving legitimacy to and becoming part of it.

Other students will reach towards the progressive, revolutionary elements in social struggle for the solutions of the American crises. These students, with their academic understanding of the socioeconomic and political development of government, will be a greater asset to the revolution once they have gone through a process of re-education. Most students will join the revolution because of their disagreement with the present government process, policies and social order. The necessity for their re-education comes from their lack of real understanding of the principles, policies, and political motivation of revolution. Many students who have studied Marxist-Leninism will attempt to enter the revolution with an academic know-it-all, elitist attitude either toward the present revolutionary leadership of the various progressive organizations/parties/fronts, or towards their lumpen-proletariat comrades whose academic life may be less than a student's real life experience. Because of the subjective realities, it will be necessary for the students upon joining the revolution to undergo a thorough re-education process alongside lumpen-proletariat and worker comrades. In this way, a basis will be provided for even development amongst all potential revolutionaries joining the ranks of the class and national liberation struggle.

Those workers who will join the revolution will base their activity primarily in the work-place and local unions, although many political activists involved in organizations/parties/fronts will be either part time or full time workers. Much of their activity will be divided between organ-party community work, and organ-party work-place organizing. The workers will first involve themselves on progressive-revolutionary activity out of sheer frustration with their class exploitation and with trying to eke out a living through the socio-economic crises of capitalism-imperialism. For the most part, Euro-American workers, progressive political activity will be solely confined to the class issue of their particular area of work. Not until these class war workers have developed a revolutionary consciousness of anti-imperialism will they become part of the overall class and national liberation struggle. Their development is dependent on those individual workers or organizations/parties/front members who are anti-imperialist, pro-national liberation and are educating, organizing, and mobilizing the general proletariat to become

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revolutionary in class consciousness and practice, demanding the destruction of capitalism-imperialism.

This also applies to those Third World workers who are not politically class conscious of the nature of their two-pronged class and national oppression. They will be vague about the conditions of class exploitation and class divisions. Third World workers will deem racism and national oppression as the primary aspect of their oppression, and will believe that if racism were destroyed such oppression would not exist. Of course, without national oppression, Third World workers would fare generally as well or badly as Euro-American workers, both being exploited and oppressed by the bourgeois ruling class. It is when Third World workers become class conscious and anti-imperialist in their understanding of their class exploitation that the proletariat class as a whole will begin to become part of the class and national liberation struggle.

People from the lumpen-proletariat will join the revolution because it will provide hope for their future, offering life some meaning and purpose devoid of the self-destructive cycle of hanging out on street corners, shooting dope, prostitution, and going in and out of jail/prison. Hence, it will offer an alternative to all the illicit activity of the lumpen-proletariat subculture, which usually amounts to no more than preying on their own kind and desperately aspiring the social values of the bourgeoisie, the accumulation of material goods by means of "illegitimate capitalism."

The organizations/parties/fronts of the revolution will attract members of the lumpen-proletariat at first as an escape mechanism in their hopes that the revolution will provide some comfort from the turmoil of the subculture. In joining the ranks of the revolution, the lumpen-proletariat will bring both positive and negative qualities to the movement. The positive qualities will be sheer determination of the individual to not only withstand hardships, but to strive to overcome obstacles that will confront him or her in the course of securing a position in the movement, bringing the political program into concrete realization amongst the masses, and generally building the revolution. They will utilize the same ingenuity, cunning, strength of mind, and courage as was used in their individual struggles to survive in the ghetto. The skills of "getting-over" will be forged to the benefit of the revolution. But along with these positive qualities the lumpens have such negative attributes as individualism, which hampers

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collective-organizational discipline and prevents them from taking and following orders. This subjectivity of personal motivations will manifest in many ways:

1. Unwillingness to do painstaking study, to learn the principles, history, and political determinations of the revolution;
2. Not wanting to take great responsibility and work that will tax the human will, seeking to do no more than is necessary to get over;
3. Undisciplined adherence to organizational policy.

These negative elements of individualism, subjectivity, and resistance to discipline found in the lumpen-proletariat will be purged once the individual gains an understanding of the principles of revolution. They gain an understanding and historical foundation from which all revolutionaries evolve and acknowledge the necessity of organizational development, as well as the collective interrelationship between the individual and the organizations/parties/fronts.

Once this understanding has been fully grasped, the lumpen-proletariat, now becoming politically-conscious, will strive to ensure that the relationship of the organization/parties/fronts have a political program that is united with the aspirations of the masses. When students, workers, and lumpen-proletariat all recognize the serious problems affecting U.S. imperialism that the socioeconomic crises of monopoly-capitalism reaches into their work-place, homes, and social circles in the form of disenfranchisement, exploitation, and national oppression, they will join the revolution. It will be incumbent on those progressive-revolutionaries who are affiliated with various organizations/parties/fronts to bridge the masses' discontent with the political aspirations of the revolutionary movement, providing revolutionary leadership to every class, sector, nationality throughout racist America.

Revolutionary Leadership

Political activists who are in leadership in progressive organizations/parties/fronts of a given nationality or class will

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have the great responsibility of building the revolution. Such revolutionary leaders often place greater emphasis on building and maintaining their groups than building the revolution. They subordinate the state of the revolution to the state of their group; when the masses struggle for socioeconomic and political change is the prime base from which revolution can be successful.

What we find is that many revolutionary leaders attempt to motivate their group with a dominating theoretical position. Such is the case with the vanguardist and organizational chauvinists, who usually isolate and alienate themselves from the masses. They are too busy jockeying and vying for position with other groups claiming to be this or that. In the meantime, the masses' struggles are co-opted, defused, and subverted into reformist settlements with government officials, the bureaucracy, union representatives or the capitalist owners of the means of production. The worst part of this is that the masses begin to depend on the (so-called) legitimate bargaining process and become distrustful of those who claim to represent the ideals of the revolution.

Revolutionary leadership should make the development and building of the revolution the first task of their organizations. To ensure that the organizational work is responsive to the needs of the revolution, "politics in command" must be a basic operating principle. They must be uncompromising in building the revolution in direct relationship with the masses' struggles. This also means they must not only guard against liberalism, opportunism, sectarianism, and revisionist manipulations in their political commitment, but they must:

1. Seek to establish the organization/party/front in direct relationship with the masses' struggles, having the masses' struggles become the groups' struggle, and have the organization/party/front's political determination become the masses' political aspirations.
2. Place politics in command. The political program and strategic objective become the basis from which to secure internal discipline, prevent liberalism and opportunism from subverting the prospects of the group establishing practical relationships with the masses, and build principled and congenial working relationships

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with other progressives and revolutionaries.

3. Seek greater unity and working relationships amongst other political groups and activists. Combat revisionism and sectarian manipulation by other groups and activists in the struggle by seeking to establish working alliances, coalitions, and United Fronts amongst progressives and revolutionaries of the various nationalities and classes.

The quality of revolutionary leadership depends on the ability to apply these three dictates and to maintain every aspect which consolidates and pushes forward the revolution across the entire country. Revolutionary leadership in any given organization/party/front that is working to reach a particular goal must be knowledgeable of the organizational structure, the purpose of the organization, and criteria from which such an organization builds and develops its existence. The leadership characteristically must hold a deep commitment to the concepts of truth, justice, and equality. They must be capable of judging whether the “means fit the ends” in their political determinations, employing tactical discretion in being persuasive, manipulative, or coercive in accomplishing a task or having the “means fit the ends.”

Being persuasive essentially means gaining consent in forging the organization’s purpose void of deceit, force or violence. It means being able to project the course of action and convince others it is for the good and advantage of all parties concerned. Persuasion can be verbal, through speeches in meetings, rallies, forums, or it can be by means of literature and the media. The art of persuasion bases its practice on appealing to the psycho-sociological and emotional fears, desires, and aspirations of those either involved in the organizational support of the masses’ struggle or against those hindering the progress of the organization’s purpose, goals and objectives. Therefore, it is necessary for such revolutionary leadership to understand the total psychological, socio-economic and political conditions of the movement, applying the necessary tool of persuasion to win an advantageous position.

Manipulation objectively manifests its means to secure an end when the possibility exists to maneuver around a formidable obstacle without having to confront such an obstacle on its own

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ground or terms. To play the end against the middle essentially means to work the subjective condition against the objective reality of the disadvantaged, by employing one's strength to seek a weakness in the obstacle, and work that weakness against the obstacle until it becomes one's own strength. Manipulation is for the most part an art of deception, parrying and feigning a direct confrontation while at the same time continuing to build towards the desired objective.

Coercion is to meet force with force and to overcome an obstacle by compelling it to submit to a will or force beyond its immediate control. Coercion for the most part is the last resort, when one is attempting to salvage what it is possible to gain by destroying all opposition and anything which hinders forward progress. Revolutionary leadership must be capable of intermingling these three principles as conditions dictate.

There should never be any hesitation to use any one of these three principles when an organization or political purpose is confronted with an obstacle. In this same regard, these principles prevent obstacles from becoming insurmountable in organizational development. The leader must care for the welfare of his/her comrades and the masses. This virtue will be clearly determined in the course of building the revolution. The leader must listen to the cries of the masses' despair, and establish political programs that will address themselves to the needs of the masses (food, clothing, shelter, medical care, employment, etc.). These political programs will not be an end, but rather a means to build the revolution and to gain the support of the masses in revolution.

The revolutionary leader must be a statesman in character, capable of speaking to the masses' discontent and addressing the imperialist government, the bureaucracy, and all vestiges of monopoly capitalism. To turn the masses' cries into words of discontent and upheaval, challenging the imperialist political rhetoric with revolutionary political perspectives, analysis and proposals for socio-economic and political change is imperative. The revolutionary leader must be an excellent administrator, being capable of strengthening discipline, consolidating the organization/group, and propagating and building the group's political program as a living part of the revolution. In this respect, such an administrator will connect the organization with the masses' struggles, building toward particular goals and objectives within the class and national liberation struggle.

The revolutionary leader who is "humanitarian in virtue,"

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a “statesman in character,” and an “administrator toward the organization/group,” while keeping politics in command in his/her theoretical-ideological determinations of political motivations in struggle, will be most capable of fulfilling the arduous task of a professional revolutionary – to make the revolution.

The team/cadre or squad leader must be capable of following orders as they are given and of assuring the responsibility to him or her. Thus, this level of leadership must also have a moral foundation with personalities endowed with the necessary virtues for struggle, such virtues as strict discipline and regiment adherence to the implementation of the group’s political directives and policies. This personality is important because such a team/cadre-squad will have the closest association with the masses, and must be capable of presenting an image that will reflect the character of the group. These cadres must possess the intellectual foundation to grasp a struggle situation and apply the principled dialectics of the struggle to it. In this perspective the cadre must thoroughly understand the organizational guidelines to build the struggle situation, and to take control of the situation by implementing the political program and ideals of the revolution. Therefore, it is important for the team/cadre-squad to have the technical foundation, the skills, and the methods appropriate for organizing and mobilizing the masses in struggle and confrontation. Such method include agitation-propaganda, street rallies, marches, strikes and demonstrations, which are the most relied upon means of mobilizing the masses. Thus, such leadership would be building upon revolutionary enthusiasm and fervor of the masses united with the political determination of the organizations.

The committee, collective, or commune leader must be capable of working as a team leader. By understanding the principles above, a committee, collective, or commune that comprise several teams or squads can employ such a body of progressives to move in different directions in team/cadre formations, or to work and move as a single collective body. The determining factors for a committee, collective or commune leader to uphold are the sheer grasp of the political program, and to implement the tactical initiatives of the organization/party/front strategic objective.

The coalition-alliance leadership is usually comprised of members of several different organizations, in principled working relationships, unified under the banner of the masses’ struggle for social change and justice. Such leadership must be capable of

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subordinating their individual group's political aspirations to the unified goals of the coalition-alliance. In this way, the collective purpose of the coalition-alliance determines the relationship of the coalitions-alliance with the masses' struggle. Its leadership must be capable of maintaining principled and congenial relationships under the guiding principles of democratic centralism, as these principles affect any member body of the coalition-alliance. It is important that the leadership recognizes the points of unity and the differences between each member/body of the coalition-alliance and secures the working unity based upon goals common to each member-body.

The party leadership is very much like the cadre or committee leadership, while the front leadership is compared to the coalition-alliance leadership. Each leadership has the overall responsibility of overseeing the factions of the party/front to present practical theoretical and ideological directives and to formulate statewide, regional, national and international strategies. Such strategies must include mobilizing the entire party/front or a particular segment by instituting a party/front directive which determines and explains an exclusive political aspiration of the party/front in implementing its political program in direct relationship with the masses' struggle. This leadership must have the entire revolution in perspective at all times, understanding the principles of anti-racist and anti-imperialist revolution, capable of employing such principles as conditions dictate. The core of the party/front leadership is based upon four points:

- A. The party/front leadership's personal rational-empirical and acquired knowledge of revolution, and the ability to apply such knowledge according to the need and condition in struggle.
- B. Comprehension of the principles of organizational structures and development, employing democratic centralism along with inter-working of the personality of party/front members.
- C. A clear understanding of the socio-economic and political conditions of the social structure of monopoly-capitalism, and the political motivations of the revolution.

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- D. Capability of building national and international strategies, and the tactical implementation of such strategies as part of the entire class and national liberation struggle.

It is the responsibility of every progressive and revolutionary to propagate and build the revolution. Every political activist should be capable of directing the masses toward political struggle, to confront the State bureaucratic repression, and monopoly-capitalist means to exploit and reap exorbitant profits, to promote the masses' hatred of racism, capitalism and imperialism, and move them to support armed struggle. They must show masses that it is in their interest to support and become a part of the revolution by teaching the techniques of politico-military warfare, how to engage the enemy in revolution, and in this way develop the masses' faith and self-confidence in maintaining their revolutionary fervor.

REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND RESPONSIBILITY

The establishment of revolutionary organizations is based upon the stage of the struggle and the needs of the revolution. Every organization has its own structure which determines the criteria from which the masses can be educated, organized and mobilized in struggle to confront and resist their oppressive condition. From the cadre, collective, coalition to the party and front, each determines its ability to serve a particular purpose in struggle. For the organized body to be functional, it must have a purpose and the ability to gauge its strength and weaknesses. Such a structure should fulfill every functional means of becoming self-reliant and have self-control in all of its operations.

There are essentially three types of organizational structures that will be discussed. The first structure is called the pyramid system. This structure is the most used and relied upon system. It enables a large body to develop and maintain its purpose, and to have control of its internal and external function. The pyramid system is based upon centralization of the organization's mode of operating at the top of the structure, with centralization reaching into every segment of the organization. All sections are accountable to those at the top of the structure for the implementation of

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all directives and policies pertaining to the criteria and extent of the organization's growth and its ability to continue to forge its purpose. Under the top position are subordinates who are usually the policy enacting officials who determine how the implementation of a given directive is to be carried out. The pyramid system further provides various bodies or representatives, whose primary function is to implement the directive in accord with the policies and purpose of the organization. Although this structure is usually organized from the top-down, the pyramid system can be structurally comprised of three functioning bodies or as many as fifty. The primary aspect of the pyramid system is that the centralization at the top of the structure, and the sole authority of the top official(s) or central committee to determine the direction and purpose of the organization.

The practical function of any system is based upon its purpose and the need for the structure to exist. The pyramid system has the ability to develop large and expansive organizations, which is close-knit in its structure. The top position of the pyramid system may be occupied by a single person or by a central committee. In most progressive and revolutionary organizations the pyramid system is established with a central committee and organized bodies, branching down to cadres and team formations. While the pyramid system of a progressive or revolutionary organization is the same type of structure as a government bureaucracy which delegates its authority through a process of dictatorial and/or totalitarian directives and policies from the top-down, the progressive/revolutionary organization establishes its authoritative function through a process of democratic centralism. Democratic centralism is an organizational principle and which the minority is subordinate to the will of the majority and the lower bodies to the higher bodies, while the entire organization is subordinate to the central committee. All members and committees of the organization may discuss or constructively criticize a particular directive or policy, but once a decision has been made, all members and committees must abide by it.

Another organizational structure commonly referred to is the three-three-three (3-3-3) system. This system is very similar in principle to the pyramid system, except that instead of a single top position (although a single person can operate the system), there are three top positions. Each official is responsible to educate and organize three other persons, to be a total of nine, and each of the nine is to educate and organize three, a total of thirty-six, etc.

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Each top official is responsible for the three he/she has educated and organized, and all subordinate members of the organization are responsible for the three they have educated, organized and recruited. The 3-3-3 system can maintain a security of operation for a clandestine organizational structure, since no single individual knows no more than the one individual who recruited him or her and the three individuals he or she recruited. In this system each top official can work in a specific area of responsibility, utilizing the resources of other areas as necessary, only having the members of either one of the three working parts together or associated with each other as conditions dictate for the purpose of the organization and the accomplishment of its task. Although the 3-3-3 system functions similarly to the pyramid system, in which directives are issued from the top-down, the maintenance of the 3-3-3 system is the responsibility of each member-body of the system, and the implementation of a directive or policy is filtered down the system from those who did the recruiting to the recruited.

The disadvantage of the system is that if a part of the structure is lost or communications are broken in any part of the system, the possibility of losing the lower level of the structure is increased.

The 3-3-3 system is most used in clandestine and military formations of irregular guerrillas. It allows each unit to develop independently of others and to build its field of operation as directed. Each unit is only subordinate to that person or unit that recruited and organized it, and is regimentally disciplined to adhere to all operational directives. The 3-3-3 system has sometimes evolved a liaison structure composed of each unit leader, in an effort to consolidate the organizational ability to forge operations using several units. This liaison structure can be no more than a single unit, of which the primary task would be the logistics and/or communication from the leaders of the overall system to each unit leader. This process, of course, ultimately leads towards the pyramid system in organizational structural development. The 3-3-3 system is best used when participants are supported by the populace in the area of operations. But if each of these participants operates in one particular area, the interrelationship of the three could preserve the entire 3-3-3 organizational structure. In a clandestine military organization, it is necessary that at least three units are maintained: the operational unit, the logistical and supply unit, and communication-intelligence/agitation-propaganda unit. These units are essential to any clandestine military organization, and the 3-3-3 system serve the purpose well.

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The third structure is called the 10-20-30 system. Unlike the pyramid system, the 10-20-30 system is organized on a horizontal platform, in which each group is equal to the group which organized and recruited it. The 10-20-30 is based upon those individuals first involved in the organization having the responsibility to recruit a new member, and that member recruiting another until the organization doubles, triples and quadruples in size. The 10-20-30 system is utilized for two primary purposes: 1) To build mass formations for rallies or organizations; and 2) To organize the populace into large sections or areas. When security is not the most important aspect of the organizing, the 10-20-30 system is essential for political organizations to reach large numbers of people in a short period of time. A political organization usually employs this system after its members have thoroughly secured a working relationship with the masses and have determined a particular direction in struggle based upon its political program.

Thus, when the political organization calls for the organizing and mobilization of the masses, this can be done through word of mouth, through the media or various other forms of communication. The 10-20-30 system can be used, disbanded and used again to organize a single formation, having that formation structured either in a pyramid system, or it can be utilized to develop another formation through the process of 10-20-30 until hundreds are organized. The major flaw of the 10-20-30 system is that it is subject to infiltration and provocateurism, and it is difficult to regiment or discipline unless structured into a pyramid system.

Each of the three systems has a particular modus operandi which makes it most effective in respects to its purpose. In the same vein, each system can be used intermittently by any one of the three systems. For instance, the pyramid system can branch at its lower levels into a 3-3-3 system, while the 3-3-3 system, after establishing an extensive structure, can consolidate the structure into a pyramid system or a 10-20-30 system. Or the 10-20-30 system can develop into a pyramid system, because of the open recruitment of its original structure.

Based upon these three systems, a revolutionary organization must build according to the realities of the mass and popular movement. The revolutionary organization will have a particular responsibility to fulfill based upon its political program in relationship to the masses' struggle. Such political

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programs must guarantee the revolutionary organization a close relationship with the masses upon which the political aspirations of the revolutionary organization will be wholly embraced by the masses, and the masses' struggle will become the revolutionary organization's total existence.

The organizational structure and political program of each organization/party/front will determine the extent of the group's relationship to the masses. A single revolutionary organization is likely to have a greater limitation in its outreach to the masses because of the nature of its organizational structure. The revolutionary party may have the capacity to render various cadre and services to the masses' struggle. The revolutionary front apparatus comprising several parties and/or organizations will have the greater capacity to offer a consistent, direct and prolonged relationship with the masses' struggle. The revolutionary organization, based upon its structure, composition, and ability to interrelate with masses, will determine the revolution's continued growth and development. Most revolutionary organization's compositions are based upon the motivating forces which brought them into existence. The various members would adhere to a single ideological political perspective that enjoins them to function in an organized body for particular goals to attain. Whether based on a pyramid system, 3-3-3 system or the 10-20-30 system, the revolutionary organization must provide the masses' struggle with the essential services and perform the necessary duties of the revolution. The revolutionary party will usually be structured in a pyramid system, consisting of various committees which are responsible for various obligations in relationship with the masses' struggle. These committees in the party would develop youth cadres, trade union locals, women's groups, cultural programs, prison survival support alliances, and revolutionary international solidarity coalitions. All of these are the active means and methods the revolutionary party employs to implement its political program in response to the masses' efforts to resist capitalist-imperialist oppression. The revolutionary front apparatus is also usually structured in a pyramid system although its composition is made up of various parties and organizations. Its ultimate function is to forge a single political program of national and international significance. Hence, the many parties and organizations can build in the greatest unity possible toward particular goals based upon common ideals and practical interrelationships, in their relationship with the masses' struggle

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for class and national liberation.

In the course of building the revolution, these revolutionary organizations must employ certain tactical initiatives to develop the movement. The most necessary tactical initiative must be through the use of agitation-propaganda. The use of agitation-propaganda is essential in raising the political consciousness of the masses, to arouse the masses' hatred of monopoly-capitalism and imperialism, and to enhance their willingness to engage and confront the enemy in struggle. Agitation-propaganda is the basic means by which a revolutionary class consciousness is forged within every level of the class and national liberation struggle. Because the revolution is protracted in nature, agitation-propaganda must develop from simple slogans, leafletting, and distribution of literature – toward larger rallies, marches and demonstrations. Agitation-propaganda must develop into a cultural foundation of the revolution. Such an approach evolves from a means to agitate the masses and propagate the revolution, to build the historical transition of the movement in establishing the criteria to sustain itself by forging a living culture of struggle in securing the inevitable victory of the revolution. Thus, agitation-propaganda in totality is the education of the oppressed masses toward revolution, the organization of the oppressed masses in revolution, and the mobilization of the oppressed masses to confront the capitalist-imperialism in the course of building the revolution.

By employing such tactical initiatives as agitation-propaganda, the revolutionary organization/party/front is responsible for establishing community liberation associations – such as food co-ops, tenant strike groups, community patrol systems, free health clinics, community day care centers, community liberation schools, and other organized forms of extending the political program. Community liberation associations must become politically motivated, and morally and culturally inspired. Their primary objective is to serve the community by instituting a means for community participation and involvement in community development. The community needs to become reliant on the resources (menial and skilled laborers, students and professionals, etc.) available within the community, and in this way control the growth and development of the community. The community liberation association leaders must know the subjective and objective realities to expose the wrongdoers; to support those who are working for the welfare of the community; to propagate the political mass-line of the

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revolutionary organization; and to organize the community to resist racist police brutality, economic exploitation, and cultural imperialism. Furthermore, each community liberation association must seek to have meetings and forums where the people can express their discontent and where grievances can be aired. Such grievances should be recorded and become a means from which members of the community liberation associations and the revolutionary organization devote attention to solving problems affecting the community. They must address these issues in a political campaign to organize and consolidate the community as liberated areas, by which the community becomes self-reliant in staunch support of the revolution. All community liberation associations are to forge a united organizational network in which information and intelligence can be exchanged for the welfare and protection of the revolution.

These community liberation associations are organized by the revolutionary organizations and are jointly led with representatives of the community. The construction of these community liberation associations, led by community representatives, ties both the masses' struggle and the representatives of the revolution together. It ensures that the political program of the revolutionary organization will be thoroughly supported by the masses' participation in the revolutionary movement.

These community liberation associations are the arteries of the revolutionary organization, establishing a life-giving system to build the revolutionary movement in the heart of the community. Essentially, they are part of the defensive mechanism of the movement, the survival apparatuses that ensure that the needs of the oppressed masses are being met as part of the revolutionary process. Eventually, these community liberation associations will develop into a network of community-service organizations whose primary concept in class consciousness and being part of the revolution, is to establish alternative social services that the enemy government is not adequately providing. All of this is in effect the expansion and entrenchment of the revolutionary organizations, which must send collectives to rural areas and establish communes in townships and farm areas.

This course of development would also provide the infrastructure of the guerrilla front with the basic means to recruit personnel, gather information, intelligence, and supplies because a larger segment of the community will be organized in support of the revolution. The revolutionary organization must have the

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various community liberation associations thoroughly entrenched in the heart of both urban and rural communities. In this way, they would be establishing the political program and determination of the revolution in the various communities. This is termed the social development of the revolution, when the revolution becomes a social movement, culturally inspired and politically determined towards the destruction of racist capitalist-imperialism.

Another aspect of this development of the revolution and the responsibility of the revolutionary organization is the initiation of confrontation politics. Confrontation politics is the counter-offensive of the revolutionary movement. Confrontation politics is to engage the enemy in struggle in the course of representing the will of the masses. This is the highest form of agitation-propaganda possible for an aboveground political apparatus. What must be understood is that these above-ground political organizations must be more capable of integrating the legal organization-building of the social development of the revolution with the illegal concepts and purpose for the revolution: to overthrow the State. These legal and illegal methods of building the revolution are developed by the process of establishing a struggle-line of confrontation politics. It is when the issues of repression and oppression have been clearly defined, and the agents of the maintenance of such oppression have been identified, that confrontation politics will be employed.

The most effective time to confront the enemy is when agitation-propaganda has been used to educate, organize and mobilize the masses concerning their oppressive conditions. Hence, it has been determined that a struggle-line must be employed to effectuate change, or to heighten the contradiction until it has become antagonistic, and a clear demarcation has been drawn between the oppressed masses and the nature of their oppression by the State.

Confrontation politics is in many cases illegal because its objective is to disrupt the working order of those responsible for the oppressive condition, to prevent the State from fulfilling its expectations and from instituting programs and projects that are against the will of the masses. Confrontation politics takes the form of strikes, picketing, boycotts, occupations/sit-ins and other forms of civil disobedience. They may include such actions as disrupting a racist, capitalist-imperialist function by developing a counter-protest or demonstration, throwing objects-missiles, heckling the speaker at rallies, and attracting attention towards the

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political aspirations of the revolution. These acts of confrontation politics in effect support armed struggle, bridging the gap between peaceful resistance (marches, rallies, demonstrations) of organization-building and the military means to annihilate the enemy. Confrontation politics is the means by which revolutionary organizations develop the masses' political consciousness to a greater determination to resist racist capitalist-imperialism, and to defend themselves against attack. It is when seemingly peaceful marches and demonstrations turn into street fighting against the police and racist vigilantes, and when rallies turn into riots, that the militancy of the masses builds to a point of supporting the armed overthrow of the State. Thus, the revolution will take on the character of being an insurrection supported by and participated in by the masses. Thereby, confrontation politics lends its greatest strength as a tactical initiative by the above-ground political apparatus moving the revolution to victory.

In preserving the social development of the revolution, various revolutionary parties may involve themselves in government status quo politics, to have socialist and revolutionary social democratic activists elected to political positions. Their goal is to preserve the revolution by getting elected into political positions within the government, in order to ensure the government finances community programs and social services, rather than the industrial-military complex and monopoly-capitalist ventures. The aspiration to stifle the government's means to continue its oppressive stranglehold on the masses from within the system, may seem politically correct in theory. But pragmatically, such efforts by progressive activists are liberal and reformist, in effect recognizing and providing credence to the system, preserving the system rather than destroying the system. For progressive activists to engage in status quo politics, directing the masses' political consciousness to the electoral process, is to substantiate an ill-conceived idea that the political and socio-economic conditions of the oppressed masses disenfranchisement can be altered through the gradual, peaceful electoral process. This notion ultimately stifles the militant social development of the revolution and inhibits the primary objective of having the oppressed masses control the means and mode of social production.

Those revolutionary activists who want to direct the oppressed masses toward the electoral process, should instead exert energies to building the social development of the revolution, toward undermining the security of the bourgeoisie capitalist-class means

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of appropriating wealth and continued exploitative relationships with the masses. This security is based upon several factors:

1. The means from which the ruling class continues to propagate its ideas, philosophy and culture through the various media;
2. The maintenance of class divisions, national oppression, the interrelationship and struggle between nationalities competing as wage earners in the labor market, and the struggle between laborers and managers as the means of production;
3. The maintenance of the threat or use of force by the police departments and the judicial process, with the power to take life or liberty, when the bourgeoisie ruling class laws are threatened.

These three essential aspects of ruling class security can be aptly understood in similitude to the power to persuade, to manipulate and coerce the oppressed masses in control. The revolutionary organization/parties/fronts leadership must direct its membership in their agitation-propaganda activity and in confrontation politics to call for the defection of civil service workers from the police, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency and the National Guard. These agents of the State should be encouraged to furnish information and intelligence on how the government is attempting to destroy the revolution, by employing counter-revolutionary and insurgency tactics. The revolutionary organization, parties/fronts must have trustworthy and disciplined political activists infiltrate (just as the government does our movement) and disrupt the domestic and international security forces of U.S. imperialism.

The revolution will be secured in its cultural and social development when a clear demarcation has been drawn between revolutionaries and the government's counter-insurgency forces. The same consideration must also be applied in respect to the U.S. military, who will be used as the last resort by the government to stifle the revolution.

In conclusion, revolution is a conspiracy, and all revolutionaries are conspirators to overthrow the State. All

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revolutionary organizations must understand the subjective criteria from which the revolutionary movement can be preserved in marking the historical course of development. All conspirators of the revolution, in their planned activities and political programs, must realize that legal and illegal methods must be employed to support the revolutionary armed forces, and the inevitable violent overthrow of the State.

Although some political activists still believe the social transition from capitalist-imperialism to social democracy and socialism can be peaceful, the truth of the matter is that the protracted struggle of class and national liberation has been marked by the violence of the State against the revolution. Violence and terror perpetrated by the State, such as assassinations of revolutionary leaders; midnight raids on political party offices and the homes of party members; the killing, persecution and imprisonment of supporters of the revolution; ongoing infiltration and disruption of the revolutionary movement; and various acts of counter-insurgency have determined the extent to which peaceful resistance to State repression can be successful. Furthermore, the State has devised various national security laws to repress the means and method by which the revolution can be organized, virtually repressing the ideals of democracy that the State hypocritically and demagogically espouses.

These acts by the State in the preservation of its existence, foreclose any possible means for a non-violent transition of the State. Any prospects of gaining the support of members of the ruling class elite in our protracted struggle, such members as scientists, intellectuals and military advisors, is based upon the ruling class' unmitigated measures to repress the revolutionary aspirations of the oppressed masses. Thus, it is when the contradiction between the bourgeoisie's accumulation and appropriation of surplus value of material goods, and ownership of the means of production, has become antagonistic to the oppressed masses' will to unburden itself of this exploitative and oppressive relationship, will the revolution gain the greatest support of the entire working class. When the revolution threatens the monopoly-capitalist exploitative means of social production, the bourgeoisie ruling class will employ every means to preserve its existence even to the extent of consolidating right wing imperialism against members of the bourgeoisie who recognize the inevitable victory of the revolution.

Thus, it is essential that all progressive and revolutionary

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forces build the revolution toward the development of the antagonistic contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie ruling class. It is this antagonistic contradiction that draws the demarcation between friend and foe in the revolution, and allows the revolutionary movement to strengthen its capacity to engage the enemies of the revolution in political and military warfare.

Hence, revolutionary organization/parties/fronts must forge their political programs towards the social development of the revolution. To employ tactical initiatives as agitation-propaganda and confrontation politics, with the understanding that the antagonistic contradiction between the oppressed masses and the bourgeoisie ruling class, is the principle basis upon which the revolution will grow and develop towards the violent overthrow and defeat of capitalist-imperialist world domination.

THE MASS AND POPULAR MOVEMENT

The United States is an imperialist empire of monopoly-capitalist domination. The country's existence is based upon the domination (colonization) and exploitation of internal (domestic) and external nations. The acquisition of North America by Europeans was by use of force and genocidal slaughter of Native Americans, and the Europeans' ability to forge a nation into its present economic and technological condition has been based on hundreds of years of racist exploitation of Africans, Asians and Mexicans, along with the plunder, colonizing and controlling the natural resources, human labor and institutions of commerce of various Third World countries.

The U.S. empire is now being threatened with the loss of such colonies, as natives of these colonized countries develop national liberation struggles and fights for their independence. The external colonies' struggle for national liberation causes the empire to seek alternatives in its capacity to continue to acquire enormous profits from cheap labor and the control of valuable raw materials essential for U.S. imperialist development. As these national liberation struggles succeed in their independence movements against imperialism, the loss of profits from those colonies eventually affects the socio-economic and political condition of U.S. workers and neo-colonies. This loss of profits leads to the devaluation of the U.S. dollar. Thus, the value of

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American-made products is lost in the world market because the old markets are closing their institutions of commerce to American trade, industry, corporations, etc. The only alternative the U.S. imperialists have to preserve the accumulation of high profits is to cut back the production of American goods at home, establishing industries in Third World countries where labor is cheap, by importing the finished product rather than exporting it. This develops energy crisis (petroleum, coal, natural gas), which ultimately raises manufacturing costs in industries that depend upon these resources. At the same time, increasing productivity while maintaining high unemployment in the U.S. leads to a greater competition in the work-place, causing cuts in salaries and give back by workers. This inevitably leads to inflation in the American economy, with products costing more than the limits of standard living wages, since U.S. monopoly-capitalism has cut back workers' employment while the cost of products rise.

When this situation develops to the point where the American public is unable to buy American products at inflated prices, the capitalist system develops a recession in an attempt to balance the economic disparity of inflation and keep some degree of stability in the economy. This manipulation of interest rates and bond prices, serves as an attempt to ensure that monopoly-capitalists continue to reap exorbitant profits, and the American public can continue to consume/purchase products. Thus, the maintenance of the system is achieved. But this economic condition affects various nations in the American populace differently.

Because America is comprised of the neo-colonialization of Third World nations, the minorities of the American populace are affected by inflation and recession more harshly than the majority of Euro-Americans. The primary reason for this uneven effect of monopoly-capitalist economic affliction on Third World nations, in comparison to the majority of Euro-Americans, is due to neo-colonial socio-economic domination of these Third World nations and the racist national oppression.

This socio-economic and political condition of racist national oppression and domestic neo-colonial domination of Third World nationalities by U.S. capitalist-imperialism, along with the continued disenfranchisement of Euro-Americans by either the closing of foreign markets, the moving of industry to Third World countries, and/or higher competition internationally between capitalist countries for dwindling markets, alongside the continued struggles of U.S. domestic neo-colonies against their

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super-exploitation and racism, virtually determines the essential aspects of the mass and popular movement within the borders of North America. The class and national divisions between the American population preserves every condition from which the revolution will be tested, molded and developed into a mass movement for the destruction of capitalist-imperialism. The class struggle of Euro-Americans, united with the class and national determination of Third World nations in the U.S., will ensure the victory of external colonies' independence movements against U.S. imperialism.

But it is necessary that the mass and popular movement in the U.S. become cognizant of its own force and power. This power of the people is based upon workers of all nationalities developing a political movement against racism and the neo-colonization of oppressed nations, and for the end of class divisions, exploitation, ruling class appropriation of profits from workers labor, toward the end of monopoly-capitalist ownership of the means of production. Once these political determinations have been forged into a struggle for socio-economic, political and cultural change in the U.S., the character of the revolution will have developed a personality toward the collective ownership of the means of production, with each nationality having the eternal right to determine their own destiny.

In recent years the mass and popular movements have made strides in socialization. The various domestic nations have developed united actions and mobilizations over such issues as the Bakke decision and so-called reverse discrimination, support for the equal rights amendment, class-war worker support of miners strike, and against such repressive bills as Senate Bill 1 (or its derivative federal bill that includes 57 death penalty sanctions), and other opposition to higher taxes. Also, the anti-nuclear movement grows in momentum and gaining in anti-imperialist perspective. Furthermore, such anti-racist and anti-imperialist mobilizations as those on college campuses and in various ethnic communities against U.S. support of the apartheid government of South Africa, against zionism of Israel, against fascist regimes in Latin America, in support of the struggle for liberation of Puerto Rico, all provide strength to the entire mass and popular movement, ensuring an anti-racist and anti-imperialist perspective within the class struggle of Euro-Americans. In the same way, various domestic national liberation efforts are forged with an international perspective in solidarity with the national liberation

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struggle of external colonies fighting for independence against U.S. imperialism.

At present, the mass and popular movements are characterized by the struggle for the preservation of democratic rights and equality amongst the various nationalities and sexes. Although this present stage is progressive, the movement has not taken the initiatives to call for the end of monopoly-capitalist ruling class control and ownership of the means of production. Therefore, it is the responsibility of all progressive and revolutionary organizations and individuals to build the mass and popular movement toward class and national liberation struggle. To build upon the present level of the mass and popular movement, progressives and revolutionaries must analyze the socio-economic base of the masses' discontent and disenfranchisement, starting from the economic and political crisis of U.S. capitalism-imperialism. This analysis must evolve a political program that addresses the problems besetting the masses. As racism and monopoly-capitalism divide the oppressed masses on class and national lines, and further divide each nation into classes, such a program must build the oppressed masses' struggle for the preservation of democratic rights and forge the popular movement towards the revolution. Thus, the oppressed masses' struggle must be defined in terms of strategy and tactics, with specific goals and objectives to be attained. Each goal must heighten the contradiction between the oppressed masses and the ruling class bourgeoisie, and strengthen the criteria from which the struggle for the preservation of democratic rights transform into an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movement.

The transformation of the masses' struggle from a defensive posture demanding civil rights into an offensive popular movement for social democratic change is conditioned on the popular movement's being responsive to the heightened oppressive conditions of the crisis of monopoly-capitalism and imperialism. It is when this crisis develops at greater levels that the oppressed masses are unable to maintain a stable livelihood, and Third World peoples' disenfranchisement will be at an intolerable level of subsistence being the norm of survival. Such is the case when transformation of the popular movement becomes qualitatively different in form from the civil rights demands for the preservation of democratic rights and equality.

The qualitative difference is depicted by the demands of the popular movement, when the demands are not only for the

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preservation and restoration of democratic rights and equality, but also the end of national oppression and neo-colonialism; calling for the collective ownership by the workers of the means of production, equal distribution of the wealth of the country to relieve the unjust tax burden on the lower and middle classes, and the end of racism and national oppression, will the popular movement take a significant qualitative change and become revolutionary in character.

It is the responsibility of progressive and revolutionary organizations to comprehend the subjective conditions and objective reality of the mass and popular movement. With this understanding, these organizations will be capable of developing national strategies and political programs that accentuate the character of the oppressed peoples' struggle, developing the means by which the popular movement can be transformed. The subjective conditions are that the masses' struggle is determined by the socio-economic crisis and the extent of the crisis as it affects the oppressed masses' livelihood. The oppressed masses' struggle for equality between the sexes and the end of racist domination of Third World people are determinative factors of the subjective conditions. Also, unemployment, inequality in education, expensive and/or intolerable health care, deteriorating housing conditions, lower standard of living because of the socio-economic crisis and low moral/social values of cultural significance all form the motive base for revolutionary transformation. The objective reality is that the socio-economic crisis tends to polarize issues, classes, and national-minorities as the crisis develops. This polarization of classes and national-minorities has a two-fold effect in the popular movement. This two-fold effect is consolidation of both left and right-wing forces simultaneously, while the divisions between nations and classes become more acute. The oppressor nation of Euro-Americans will be most affected by the right-wing racist politics for the maintenance of national oppression, while left-wing, Euro-Americans will attempt to divide the prospects of continued national oppression by developing the class struggle within the oppressor nation.

Essentially, the Euro-American left-wing forces will have two objectives: 1) To develop the contradiction in the class struggle of the oppressor nation to become antagonistic, and to concentrate the contradiction between oppressor nation classes on the destruction of capitalism and 2) To forge the most progressive elements of the oppressor nation classes to support the national

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liberation struggle of domestic neo-colonies to combat racism and national oppression, and to call for the independence of these neo-colonies in support of their fight for autonomy and sovereignty.

In the same vein, Third World left-wing forces must develop an anti-colonial movement which is anti-imperialist in nature. They must also recognize the necessity for international solidarity amongst the various Third World nationalities, oppressor nation progressives/revolutionaries, and their class struggle. Also, the anti-colonial movement has two aspects to develop: 1) The class struggle within the oppressed nations to destroy the colonized mentality within the quasi-class divisions of the oppressed neo-colony. Individuals who have gained influential status in the domestic neo-colony and are recognized as spokespersons of the neo-colony by the imperialists must become responsive to the aspirations of the national liberation movement; 2) To arouse the Third World populace to confront monopoly-capitalism from an anti-imperialist political perspective.

Once the mass and popular movement gains momentum in its struggle against capitalist-imperialism, and the polarization of the left and right-wing forces has substantially drawn the lines between contending political forces, the masses' struggle will have reached its nodal point, transforming from a civil rights movement into a human rights movement of revolutionary significance with international ramifications.

The question of human rights raises the mass and popular movement to a qualitatively higher level than when it was concerned only with civil rights, as civil rights are the minimum political objective. The oppressive relationship between the neo-colonies of the Third World nations and ruling class, and the ruling class relationship with the Euro-American oppressor nation must be altered, since they concern the basis upon which a livelihood can be maintained for all peoples. The relationship of the workers to the means of production must be changed until the workers gain collective possession of the means of production. Also, the various Third World nations must be able to determine their own destiny, based upon their socio-economic and political aspirations as expressed during the course of the revolution. Therefore, the question of human rights embodies the collective human will to be free from racist, capitalist-imperialist oppression and domination.

To transform the popular movement for the preservation and restoration of democratic rights into a mass struggle for human

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rights is therefore a revolutionary concept. The aspirations of the oppressed masses' struggle are taken out of the context of allowing the imperialists any basis for shadowing the determination of the oppressed masses to control their own lives and destiny, recognizing the inalienable rights of all humanity. The call for human rights within the mass and popular movement provides impetus towards international anti-imperialist solidarity.

Once the mass and popular movement has developed a revolutionary character, the means from which progressive and revolutionary organizations can build the movement will be greatly enhanced. The political program of national organizations in the mass and popular movement will ensure and support the course of the class and national liberation struggle. These political programs must highlight national goals and objectives, accentuating the anti-colonial, anti-capitalist-imperialist demands of the popular movement. Such demands as national health care and service, full employment for all workers, the end of national oppression and racism, all of which are civil and human rights issues, give credence to the demands for the end of private ownership of the means of production, and the right of Third World nations to become independent and sovereign. Thus, the political programs of national significance of progressive-revolutionary organizations in the mass, popular movement must change the character of the movement in the direction of the class and national liberation struggle.

It is imperative that these political programs project solutions onto the socio-economic and political crisis of monopoly-capitalism and address themselves to specific disenfranchised people within the class and national liberation struggle. The conditions of disenfranchisement and oppression affecting women must be thoroughly developed in a political program of national significance. Distinction must be made between the level of oppression between oppressed-nation women and that of the oppressor-nation women. This distinction must be further clarified in developing provisions of redress in the oppressed masses' struggle. For Third World women, their national condition of oppression must first be addressed on local grassroots levels, with the establishment of Third World women community liberation associations, independent of the oppressor nation's women's movement. These Third World women community associations must uphold the demands of the class and national liberation struggle. In this way, national aspirations of Third World women

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can realize their goals as part of, and take a leading role in, the national liberation struggle.

The conditions of disenfranchisement and oppression affecting youth must be addressed in a national political program. Hereto distinctions must be made between youth of the oppressed and oppressor nations in respect to the nature of their oppression, and the criteria for developing a solution in a political program. Essentially, the question of education and unemployment affects all youth. But for the oppressed nations, it is imperative that alternative education be established in the Third World communities. Such educational institutions as community liberation schools would have the responsibility to develop youth's skills in reading, writing and mathematics, and would also broaden their cultural and political consciousness of their relationship to the class and national liberation struggle. These liberation schools will be responsible for the development of future leaders and the organization of youth to be more responsive to the needs of the community. Therefore, an essential part of the curriculum of these schools will be the development of skills for building and preserving the community(s), such as plumbing, electrical work, carpentry, as well as printing, typing and agitation-propaganda work.

The political program must address the needs of the proletarians of all nations, especially in the trade unions. Trade unions have the responsibility of confronting the owners of the means of production with the needs of the workers. It is the responsibility of workers to be sure that their trade union representatives develop the issues which define and depict their disenfranchisement and restore equitable working standards and wages.

But it is the responsibility of progressives and revolutionaries to move workers and trade union representatives toward the ideals of revolution. The prospect of integrating the trade union revolt in the mass and popular movement depends on the masses' arousal (class consciousness). Such an arousal, through agitation-propaganda and confrontation politics by progressive-revolutionaries must be responsive to concrete conditions of union workers' socio-economic and political instability. The issues will include rising taxes affecting workers and continued tax cuts for big business, the demands for greater productivity from the employed (without considering the criteria by which the unemployed may obtain work), the huge military budget and cut-

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backs in social services, imported products flooding U.S. markets because of cheap labor in U.S. external colonies, while exports decrease. All of this, along with concerns of the huge federal deficit that has made the U.S. a debtor nation, must be addressed in a political program. These issues will serve as an impetus to motivate workers to seek change in the economic system. The political program must demand that the taxes of workers become stable and big businesses taxes be used to subsidize social services, that shorter hours be established at wages comparable to living standards, that the unemployed be able to gain employment meeting the needs of productivity, and that a low ceiling must be imposed on imports so American consumers could purchase American-made products and an export quota towards a more equitable trade balance could be established. These demands would serve to induce the ultimate demands of the end of capitalist-imperialism, the nationalization and workers' ownership, and the control of the means of production.

Finally, the mass and popular movement must be directed toward understanding the various aspects of the judicial process – the police, courts and prisons – and their functions in a capitalist social structure. The demystification of the judicial system will provide the mass and popular movement with an understanding of how they are being controlled and manipulated by the courts, congress and legislative bodies of government for the benefit of monopoly-capitalism. As poverty begets crime and social revolution, it is imperative that the judicial process be exposed as an instrument of controlling the oppressed masses along lines of class divisions and national oppression. Most laws serve the continued mode of national oppression and class exploitation. Thus the police, courts and prisons preserve this system of domestic monopoly-capitalist domination (federal death penalty sanctions, COINTELPRO, etc.). Also, it must be exposed how the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, and the Department of Defense operate, and how the various branches of the judiciary create laws which undermine justice and equality and uphold the existing system of national and class oppression.

Domestically, the police, courts, and prisons are the primary institutions used to repress the social democratic and socialist aspirations of the mass and popular movement, prisons being the last rung in the ladder of judicial coercion. Political programs must, therefore, support the prison movement, calling for the

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release of political prisoners of war, the end of torture of captured revolutionaries, the abolition of capital punishment, and the end of prison slavery. They must further explain how the judicial process is inequitable, indicating how most laws serve to suppress the will of the oppressed masses' aspirations for social democracy and socialist freedom, and show how the police, courts and prisons are coercive bureaucracies of monopoly-capitalism. This will ultimately demystify the judicial process and will forge mass and popular consciousness to become fearless in confronting the State.

At this time the mass and popular movement is fractionalized on various issues subject to the socio-economic crisis, and the relationship of the crisis to a particular class or nationality. Such issues include: the struggle in the trade union industry; miners, farmers, teachers, social services, and industrial workers strikes; anti-nuclear issues; unemployment, the ERA, prisoners' involuntary servitude strikes, and various other civil rights issues. All of these are substantial concerns to many progressives and revolutionaries in many different ways. But factionalism tends to drain the oppressed masses' enthusiasm in struggle, ensuring their participation in struggle only when their livelihood is being jeopardized. This reaction to struggle can preserve competitiveness that will create and maintain divisions between classes and nationalities.

To remedy factionalism, the progressive and revolutionary forces must build national campaigns and mobilizations that develop anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, working class solidarity amongst the many progressive elements within the mass and popular movement. It is this revolutionary internationalist solidarity amongst the most progressive and revolutionary forces combating racist, capitalist-imperialism that will provide the impetus for greater unity through the entire mass and popular movement.

The mass and popular movement must evolve a national concept of itself, and become mobilized nationally towards specific goals and objectives. This concept and understanding should urge the class and national liberation struggle to confront the socio-economic and political crises of capitalist-imperialism. The struggle for the preservation and restoration of social democratic and civil rights must evolve towards a struggle for human rights.

Inevitably, the revolutionary struggle for human rights will

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develop the class and national liberation struggle toward the final and complete destruction of capitalist class exploitation and racist imperialist neo-colonial oppression.

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Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation

Author's Preface

In the last several years from many corners of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, there has been a clarion call for the building of the Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation – a revolutionary nationalist front to establish a movement for national independence, to free the national territory of Kush from the colonial (U.S.A.) government. This call has mostly come from BLA-POW's and their supporters who recognize the need to resurrect a militant resistance to continued national oppression, identifying the basis of our peoples' colonial subjugation as part of the anti-imperialist struggle being waged by Third World peoples in many parts of the world. Of course, this means we have to once again develop a militant political organization that would challenge U.S. colonialism and organize New Afrikans to offensively pursue the ultimate objective of national independence. This task has to be greater than a survival program pending revolution, as all survival programs are in essence defensive in posture, based on the ideal that to survive is to defend against attacks. But survival programs do not forge a movement, only sustain an existence.

Therefore, to build FROLINAN is to push forward the quest of national emancipation, as FROLINAN's national strategy is not based simply on survival pending revolution, but rather on building the revolution to survive. This position on survival is

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Portland, OR, USA: Arissa Media Group, LLC, 2010. p 97.

<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/iupui/Doc?id=10447254&ppg=106>

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not relegated to a defensive posture, but develops an offensive Program for Decolonization, establishing a revolutionary theory and program to militantly fight for national independence.

I have taken the initiative to write this proposal and treaty for our numbers and revolutionary nationalists to build upon, for us to unite our forces under a single program and national strategy. Since the destruction of the Black Panther Party, our movement has fallen into the hands of passive resisters, losing its vitality, momentum and revolutionary fervor. It is now necessary to rekindle the spirit of militant resistance and rebuild our nationalist front, comprising the needed national organizations and programs that will ensure not only our survival, but also, our inevitable victory in establishing the Republic of New Afrika in the western hemisphere.

This document is presented for revolutionary nationalists to discuss and seek the means and methods to create conditions to manifest the National Strategy of FROLINAN. Of course, this is my conception of what needs to be done based on varied discussions amongst comrades, and basic analysis of the general situation of opportunism, liberalism, and sectarianism affecting our overall struggle. Therefore, this document is not all conclusive or inclusive of our needs in struggle; rather, it seeks to forge the basis to establish a durable foundation by which we may unite our talents and resources to build FROLINAN. Hence, this document is offered as a pivot to create the needed center of gravity from which we can rally our forces, and move forward in unity and struggle.

Based on the foregoing, I'm requesting of those receiving this document and who are able, to make copies and redistribute to those you believe might be interested in building FROLINAN. Furthermore, I'm requesting all authentic revolutionary nationalists to do the following upon review of this document:

1. Submit proposals to strengthen the basis to build FROLINAN, ie., organizational structure, ideological format, political programs, etc.;
2. Establish a FROLINAN organizing cadre to build one of the Programs of Decolonization in your area, adopting FROLINAN's National Strategy;
3. Discuss this document with others, and contribute

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financially, materially, and personally to the National Strategy of FROLINAN.

In the near future, an effort will be made to organize a national congress/conference of revolutionary nationalists who have expressed an interest and commitment to build FROLINAN and support a particular aspect of the Program for Decolonization, to come together, and develop this revolutionary nationalist front.

Introductory Note

FROLINAN is initially a cadre organization of New Afrikan revolutionary nationalists, whose primary objective is to evolve a united strategy and direction amongst the many New Afrikan nationalist formations. This objective is to further enjoin New Afrikan revolutionary nationalists to accept a position within the front, to develop greater principled unity of action in the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM), in accordance with the National Strategy of FROLINAN.

There are many progressive and revolutionary organizations/parties/fronts in the NAIM of local, regional and national significance. FROLINAN recognizes each organization/party/front has a specific and general role in the NAIM, but it is our faith this role must be formulated in unity and struggle amongst our oppressed New Afrikan masses under the guidance of a single national strategy and program. We believe that with the tactical implementation of a national strategy, which embraces the specific and general cause of NAIM in theory and practice, the various organizations/parties/fronts will greatly enhance the overall development of the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

FROLINAN is characterized as a revolutionary nationalist front, recognizing the human and inalienable rights of New Afrikans to be free from racist colonialism, genocide, and imperialist national oppression/exploitation. It recognizes that New Afrikan "human rights" encompass the right to be self-governed and independent of the U.S. colonial government, thus, national rights in accordance with international law and politics.

The prerequisite for becoming a member of FROLINAN are as follows:

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1. Recognition of the existence of the New Afrikan Nation as an oppressed nation within the colonial government of the United States of America in the western hemisphere;
2. That the Republic of New Afrika is the name and government of the New Afrikan Nation, a government in exile, struggling for the liberation of the National Territory of Kush;
3. Acceptance of the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence, Creed and Code of Umoja;
4. Recognize and support the New Afrikan People Liberation Army (NAPLA) as the armed front of the New Afrikan Nation;
5. Support and work to manifest the National Strategy of FROLINAN as the legitimate representative of New Afrikan Independence Movement, and work to support all groups in alliance to FROLINAN;
6. Must be anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, anti-racist/fascist, pro-national independence, and willing to participate in the class and national liberation struggle for land (Kush) and social democracy;
7. Believe and have faith in the creative ingenuity, spiritual quality and humanity of our New Afrikan people and the historical, cultural, socio-economic, and political productivity of our struggle for national independence.

FROLINAN National Strategy is based on the Three Phase Theory for National Independence. It is our faith; this revolutionary theory is the criteria from which our revolutionary movement is to be organized. FROLINAN's National Strategy is exemplified in our Ten Point Platform, Theory, organizational Program for Decolonization, Strategy and Practice and will serve to manifest in reality the Ten Point Platform, a program accepted

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in principle by all members of FROLINAN.

We anticipate and work toward FROLINAN to develop into a mass-based revolutionary nationalist front, comprising national organizations and groups, to organize and mobilize our oppressed New Afrikan people for our inevitable independence.

HISTORICAL CONCEPTION AND OVERVIEW

We accept all aspects of our history from the beginning of civilization on the Afrikan continent, to the present stages of technological development of Afrikan nation-states, and the continued struggle of Afrikan people throughout the world against tyranny and imperialist oppression.

With this conception of history, we view the material basis in which history evolved to its present and ongoing developing modes of history, as Afrikan people relate and interrelate with one another, other people of color in the Third World, and the European races. This understanding and materialist outlook of history notes that dialectically, our present condition and struggle is based on our past experiences in a continuing development of an Afrikan history. The New Afrikan experience in America is not separate from the Afrikan experience on the continent; rather, they are linked in a chain of events which imposes socio-economic, political, and historical realities encompassing the criteria by which New Afrikan struggle for independence must be developed.

We call ourselves New Afrikan because of the degree of force breeding and miscegenation we as a people have suffered, as well as cultural imperialism – the psychological plunder and rape of our affinity to Afrika – stripping away our Afrikan language, art and world outlook and national oppression, which in our efforts to combat have created a national heritage rich in resistance based on two ideals of integration and/or separation.

These experiences left us stripped of our Afrikanist perspective despite miscegenation and cultural imperialism, encompassing those experiences into an Afrikan national heritage in diaspora, creating the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

This conception of history in a dialectical materialist perspective provides the means to formulate a program and strategy to conquer racist oppression and national subjugation, utilizing the truth of our entire history as a guide to enlighten our

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practice. For instance, in terms of a (foreign) policy of Afrikan intercommunalism with our people on the Afrikan continent, it is essential to know what our relationship had been in history – providing a substantial foundation to develop principled relations today. For New Afrikans it is important to know that slavery did not begin as an American phenomenon; rather, American chattel slavery of Afrikans is a direct outgrowth of Afrikans enslaving Afrikans on the Afrikan continent. Many of our ancestors had been enslaved by Afrikans due to internecine struggles, border wars of territorial imperative amongst tribes and wars of aggression between Afrikan nation-states. The prisoners of war, and/or because of debt, were placed in bondage and often sold or traded. When the Europeans (Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish, British, etc.) made contact with Northern and Western coastal areas of Afrika, they not only raided villages and kidnapped Afrikans, but more often and productively (numerically) brought already enslaved Afrikans from Afrikan chieftains and traders. Hence, for the most part, our existence in the western hemisphere is as much a consequence of Afrikan history as it is of European history.

Thus, as we conceive ourselves in history, we must place responsibility of our condition in context to the actual historical development leading to our present situation. In this regard, we don't expect assistance from our Afrikan brother nations simply because we are of one people – only separated by distance – but because history demands recompense for a people (New Afrikans) whose existence and suffering is based on our unfortunate relation in the history of slavery mutual to us all, and the commonality of our fight against a mutual enemy: imperialism. This same conception and relation to history is binding on any relationship established with other past enslavers, such as the Dutch, Portuguese, British, Spanish, etc.

As we struggle against continued U.S. colonization, New Afrikans must have a determined sense of history in regard to the New Afrikan Nation relationship to the world. Without this common national consciousness and perception of our existence, based on history, our practice will continue to be confused and chaotic, without historical continuity which serves to give practical guidance on the road to independence. As an oppressed nation, we have a rich history of resistance to bondage: revolts on slave ships during the middle passage; revolts and rebellions for hundreds of years on slave plantations; fighting for freedom in the War of Independence, War of 1812, and the Civil War; and fighting in the

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U.S. Army in the name of U.S. democracy (hypocrisy) can also be considered part of the national determination to be free.

We preserve four epochs in our history as indicative of our struggle to be free of U.S. national subjugation and colonial domination. After the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and the 13th Amendment in 1865, and the Civil War having ended barbaric chattel slavery, the 14th Amendment stripped Afrikans in America of their land (provided by Field Order No. #15) and imposed American citizenship on these Afrikan nationals as this country entered a period defined as reconstruction and the industrial revolution. This was a period when the slavocracy gave birth to mercantile capitalism; the gross surplus of such commodities as cotton, tobacco, sugar, etc., produced from slave labor in the South provided economic-textile-industrial growth and development in northern states. Reconstruction found millions of New Afrikans either re-enslaved by the vestiges of the Black Code-Law to sharecropping, unemployment, and landless, or migrating north in search of educational and employment opportunities. But the Hayes-Tilden agreement restored racist national oppression and colonial domination prevailed with terrorist KuKluxKlan raids, race riots (white against Blacks), mob violence, lynching of New Afrikans in the north and south.

In 1905, the Niagara Movement was consummated. We recognized the Niagara Movement as a significant epoch in our continued struggle for independence. The Niagara Movement was not the first time New Afrikans organized themselves, as there had been many abolitionist groups comprised of "freedmen" of Afrikan decent. But the Niagara Movement marks a stage in which, under the leadership of W.E.B. DuBois, they developed a concept and an organization which prevails today. The concept of integration comprehensively evolved during the Niagara Movement by DuBois, and is adamantly held today by the NAACP, which came into existence out of the Niagara Movement in 1910, with DuBois as a founding member and incorporator. It was DuBois who forged the conceptual appeal of Pan-Afrikanism during this time; while the NAACP up until 1940 had campaigned for anti-lynch legislation, and from 1950 to present campaigned for desegregation, integration and civil rights.

The second epoch of historical importance was the 1920 Marcus Garvey "Back to Afrika" movement. This movement which has yet to be surpassed, appealed to and organized millions of New Afrikans, and established national pride and dignity

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directly associated with the Afrikan continent. Although the Back to Afrika movement only lasted until 1925, when viewed in juxtaposition and in historical continuity to the Niagara Movement and Pan Afrikanist ideas developing at the time, the thread of struggle and our peoples' conscious determination to be free of colonial domination becomes very significant.

The third epoch is divided into two distinct and interdependent parts as they actualized the first and second epochs in character and content. The Elijah Muhammad Nation of Islam movement, which came into existence in the 1940s but had not come into national prominence until the 1960s, developed many of the separatist ideals held by the Marcus Garvey movement; it generally appealed to those who had been adherents of the separatist movement of Marcus Garvey. In the 1960s, Malcolm X (El Hajj Malik Shabazz) brought the Nation of Islam separatist movement into national attention, recruitment reported to be approximately 1 million "Black Muslims" by some estimates. Elijah Muhammad called for the separation of Blacks (New Afrikans) into a government of their own in the South Black Belt, basing his program on mystified interpretation of Islam and Black "self help" economics (the principle now adopted as Black capitalism).

During this same epoch, in 1955, the so-called civil rights movement was launched, with Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. as its primary leader and spokesperson. Given the political character and objective of Martin L. King, Jr.'s movement, it ushered the line and principle of struggle first established in the Niagara Movement. The principle organizations of this course of struggle were SCLC, NAACP, Urban League, CORE and SNCC – all working in a united front strategy for desegregation, integration and civil rights. Politically, this movement could actually be defined as a negro-bourgeoisie-democratic revolution. It attacked and did battle with the essential foundation and cornerstone of colonial domination of New Afrikans in America – racism and national oppression. The civil rights movement sought the fruition of democratic civil rights guaranteed to whites to be equally administrated to Black people. It was a nationally organized movement, which put in motion masses of people in freedom rides, sit-ins and marches, which precipitated the eventful call for "Black Power," a nationalist political consciousness, resulting in riots and rebellions across the country.

The dialectical (unity and struggle of opposites) relationship

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between the Elijah Muhammad separatist and Martin L. King, Jr. integrationist movement, preserved in historical continuity the ideals of both the Marcus Garvey separatist and W.E.B. DuBois integrationist movement, forging the cause of struggle toward a synthesis of ideals first espoused with the cry and birth pains of "Black Power."

The fourth epoch, an outgrowth of the proceeding era, adopted the synthetic conception of Black Power, uniting the symbolic determination of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and Malcolm X Black Nationalist ideas in the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party for Self Defense was established in 1966, and in 1967 Black Panthers captured national attention by entering the California state capital hearing on gun control, carrying rifles and shotguns, calling for community control of police, self-defense, and Black political power. Even though, during this period, there had been other Black nationalist groups and formations (ie., RNA, JOMO, Deacons for Defense and Justice, RAM, APP, etc.) that evolved out of the negro-bourgeois-democratic revolution, none made such an indelible historic impression on the developing struggle like the Black Panther Party. From its inception, the BPP had considered the necessity for armed struggle to wrestle Black power from the U.S. white power structure. The BPP developed the Black underground which evolved into the Black Liberation Army – a clandestine network of armed urban guerrillas. It had been the BPP that first raised the concept of class struggle, introducing and infusing the ideology of Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse Tung thought with the Black nationalist ideas of Malcolm X in accordance with the concrete realities of the struggle taking shape in Black (New Afrikan) ghettos/communities across the country. With its Ten Point Platform and Program, the BPP attempted to manifest Black political power on the basis of community control as a tactical objective toward the strategic goal of total independence.

By 1967, the colonial government (U.S.A.) had directed its attention and COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM (COINTELPRO) on the BPP/BLA and other nationalist formations as the RNA. This counter-revolutionary action by the government was implemented with the intent to discredit, disrupt and destroy the BPP with murderous raids, infiltration, and provocation. In a four-year battle with the police, by 1971, the BPP had been significantly subverted on a national level, whereupon by 1973, the BPP was in all actuality defunct. This inevitably led to the defeat and decimation of the BLA as a fighting clandestine urban

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guerrilla network.

It is these four epochs in the continuing struggle of New Afrikans for political power and independence that are of great significance. They had the greatest influence and impact on New Afrikans nationally in juxtaposition with our relationship to the enemy colonial (U.S.A.) government. We accept these four epochs as the foundation in which current and future development in the New Afrikan Independence Movement will be objectively molded, shaped, and forged to victory.

History shows us that there are two basic direct and distinct lines and influences in the New Afrikan peoples' struggle for political power and self-determination. Our oppressed people have fought for integration and civil rights, and we've fought for independence and human rights. It is these two directions that characterize any real differences in our peoples' aspiration to be free of racist colonial domination. Furthermore, it will be integration verses independence that will be a determinative aspect for the building of national unity amongst New Afrikans to engage the colonial (U.S.A.) government for political power and self-determination in the future. This understanding of history and the ideological-political forces that have shaped our struggle, provides conscious and deliberate activity to combat national oppression and colonialism, with the continuity of preserving history and the mode of struggle toward independence. We of FROLINAN must take a stand on the side of independence, and in doing so, give recognition to those forces who are currently making history in building the independence movement. We recognize the organization of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika for its contribution, but not necessarily to subordinate ourselves to its current strategy and program in the movement. We therefore reserve the right to formulate a revolutionary theory, strategy, and program to educate, organize, and mobilize New Afrikans toward national emancipation, and unite our strategy and program of action with other New Afrikan revolutionary forces who are also fighting for independence, not excluding the present Republic of New Afrika Provisional Government.

FROLINAN recognizes and understands the history of resistance our oppressed nation has fought in both the integrationist and separatist movements. But because we believe in our inalienable human rights, as a nation of people, to be self-governed; and because we are anti-capitalist-imperialist, we find

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no practical basis, in accordance to our history, to integrate in this colonial (U.S.A.) government. Therefore, we will concentrate our energies in preserving our nation peoples' history to separate, to establish an independent self-governed socio-economic, political and cultural-sovereign nation in the western hemisphere.

A REVOLUTIONARY CLASS PERSPECTIVE

In Refutation of Black Capitalism

Since the advent of the government-sponsored Economic Opportunity Commission and the various poverty programs instituted as a result of the Black insurrections during the 1960s, the quest for Black capitalism as an integral part of the freedom struggle surged as the political, socio-economic alternative to White capitalism and exploitation – and established a unique obstacle before the New Afrikan revolution. By 1970, the U.S. government managed to consolidate a national bourgeoisie neo-colonial class comprised of Black businessmen, civil rights leaders and elected officials. In the process of this development, evolved a Black middle class whose political alliance remained with the oppressed Black masses and who recognized a political responsibility that in essence contradicts the economic realities of Black capitalism. They now find themselves at a loss to the real ideals, programs, and objectives of the Black struggle. While the national bourgeoisie aspires integration and assimilation into the mainstream of monopoly capitalism, the Black middle class, petty bourgeoisie are split in their socio-political aspirations, although economically, the Black middle class can't afford to negate their tie to the system of national oppression without forfeiting material advantage and livelihood. But as the crises of monopoly capitalism worsens (inflation/recession), the existence of the Black middle class is threatened, as the national bourgeoisie intensifies their integrationist program on the deaf ear of the U.S. conservatism. The overall roll-back of affirmative action and economic programs that served the needs of the Black masses during the late 60s and throughout the 70s, provides the basis in which the New Afrikan (Black) revolution will be mounted; the socio-economic contradiction between the owners of the means of production (ruling class imperialists) and the laborers (managers and manual labor) becoming antagonistic – the principle ideal of Black capitalism in juxtaposition in capitalist imperialism is

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refuted.

From a New Afrikan revolutionary nationalist analysis of the developing struggle, dialectical historical materialism must be the basis in which such an analysis serves to manifest an ideology, theory and political program that will strengthen the socio-economic and political determination of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. In this way, the New Afrikan revolution will not become short-sighted and bend to reformist concessions the national bourgeoisie neo-colonialist, in behalf of their class interest and the interest of colonialism, may throw in the path of the revolution via the Black middle class (petty bourgeoisie and working class). Hence, this New Afrikan revolutionary nationalist analysis must be a class analysis of national significance. It then becomes first to identify the classes of neo-colonial oppression: the national Black bourgeoisie, neo-colonialists are identified as those business people/corporations such as Johnson Publication and Products, Motown music/movie industry, etc. whose economic policy in class collaboration and collusion with monopoly capitalism serves as financiers to political entities/individuals who espouse the neo-colonialist dictates of integration and assimilation. Those socio-political personages of the national bourgeoisie are identified as the Rev. Jesse Jackson, Rev. Joseph Lowery, Rev. Benjamin Hooks, Rev. Leon Sullivan, Ron Brown, Clarence Thomas, Kwasi Mfume, Colin Powell, Percy Sutton, Coretta S. King, Dorothy Haight, Eleanor Holmes-Norton, and other such national neo-colonist representatives.

These individuals and organizations maintain direct ties to the colonial (U.S.A.) government in their relationship to the oppressed neo-colony and espouse the socio-political illusion of integration-assimilation and non-violent struggle for Black survival in racist-imperialist America. They are the bulwark of neo-colonialist leaders who serve the colonial government by institutionalizing the concept of gradualism, reformism, and Black capitalism as the socio-economic policy for political struggle by the oppressed New Afrikan masses. Their entire program is based on acculturation, assimilation and integration on a monopoly-capitalist platform. Such a program has influenced the established Black middle class-petty bourgeoisie skilled laborers in their efforts to gain material wealth and status in the colonial system of oppression. In many cases, the petty bourgeoisie comes face to face with racist institutions and standards (ie., housing, employment, promotions, etc.) that cause them to reconsider

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socio-politically the aspects in which acculturation, integration and assimilation are realistic. But because of their socio-economic ties to the system of oppression, they aren't totally able or willing to sever their relationship and join the oppressed New Afrikan masses in the national independence movement.

Hence, the Black (upper) middle class attempts to employ a *cultural identity* to the development of Black capitalism, which is progressive in form and reactionary in content. This bourgeois cultural nationalism has evoked socio-economically an exploitative relationship to the oppressed neo-colony by developing Black business, employment, etc., in the Black community but taking the profit out of the community, while politically they espouse Black community self-control in which Black capitalists and politicians will overwhelmingly benefit. Their most recent scheme to enhance this development is the building of a National Black Independent Political Party.

The question of a National Black Independent Political Party as elucidated by the Black bourgeois cultural nationalists (upper and middle class) would consolidate in a program for independent Black Capitalism and conformity to white capitalism/imperialism, thus a neo-colonial relationship to colonial (U.S.A.) rulers. The political determination of the National Black Independent Political Party as developed by the National Black Political Assembly, would seek to compete with the Democratic and Republican Party (s), running Black politicians for various local (mayoral, governor), regional (congress, senate), and national (President) offices and fight for federal funds, laws and policy in response to the needs of the New Afrikan neo-colony, and/or against U.S. foreign policy to Afrika. Whereupon, the need for such a National Black Independent Political Party is real, the political goal and direction of this party cannot be based on the development of Black capitalism nor hold to a concept of co-existence to imperialism. The Black middle class, petty bourgeois cultural nationalist, economic and political aspiration as currently forged is progressive in form by collecting and consolidating our talented, educated, and skilled Black people in a national formation to supposedly represent the interests of the oppressed New Afrikan masses. It is reactionary in content by developing Black capitalism intricately tied to U.S. monopoly capitalism, since Black capitalism would rely on capitalist-imperialism for its own growth and development, strengthening a neo-colonial relationship to the oppressed New Afrikan masses

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who are a colonized nation. Hence, Black capitalism perpetuates class division, exploitation of New Afrikans, and neo-colonial subjugation to U.S. imperialism.

It can hereby be determined, the Black middle class petty bourgeoisie cultural nationalist can be allied to the New Afrikan working class upon realizing Black capitalism is a tool of the colonial ruling class oppressors, utilized by their neo-colonialist agents, the national Black bourgeoisie. Furthermore, where Black capitalism is tied to monopoly capitalism and imperialism, its existence and development is based on the existence and development of imperialism, and imperialism is based on colonial domination of oppressed people-nations. Thus, socio-economically and politically Black capitalism is a neo-colonialist institution demanding continued Black exploitation and colonial oppression domestically and U.S. imperialist expansion in the Third World.

THREE PHASE THEORY FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

With a full understanding of our history in relationship to the colonial (U.S.A.) government and its economic system of monopoly-capitalism and imperialism, we are then able to develop a practical theory to formulate a decisive working strategy by which to educate, organize and mobilize our oppressed New Afrikan Nation for complete sovereignty and independence. It is important that recognition is given to our task for a social, political, economic and cultural perspective. That we totally commit ourselves to an arduous struggle for national emancipation and liberation, allowing absolutely nothing from preventing our success and freedom from racist colonial and neo-colonial subjugation.

Our Three Phase Theory for National Independence is based on the historical manifestation of our national oppression in racist-capitalist America. This theory negates nothing from our history although it establishes its pragmatic foundation on prevailing conditions, and moves from these conditions, building conceptual understanding of how our practice must conform to given realities, if we are to be free. The Three Phase Theory for National Independence is based on the principles of dialectical materialism, determining the need of both class and national struggle.

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1. We recognize we are a subjugated and oppressed colonized nation in the imperialist government of the United States of America;
2. That racist national oppression and monopoly-capitalism are the two all pervasive means in which U.S. imperialism maintains a colonial stranglehold on the New Afrikan nation, with miscegenation, acculturation, assimilation, individualism, sexism and competition being the character of control and our super-exploitation;
3. Our colonial condition is reinforced by the institutionalization of class-divisions and neo-colonial control by members of the New Afrikan Nation;
4. That the New Afrikan Nation is entitled to restitution-reparation from the U.S. government for four (4) centuries of colonial domination, including monetary compensation, land, machinery (industrial and technological), and military equipment to establish our sovereignty and security to defend against future aggression;
5. As an oppressed nation of colonized people, we are the third largest nation of Afrikan people in the western hemisphere. We have a population of 30+ million with a purchasing power of \$250 to \$350 billion and must be afforded international recognition and status in both the United Nations and the Organization of Afrikan Unity.

FIRST PHASE

Class Struggle for National Unity

It is first important to identify the various classes in which national unity is to be brought. We recognize the fact that the New Afrikan people are a colonized nation in the United States. We also recognize that New Afrikans' colonization is one of race

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and class oppression. The division of oppression between Euro-Americans and New Afrikans is buffeted by a system of neo-colonization established and maintained by members of the New Afrikan Nation who are in essence neo-colonialist agents of the oppressor nation government.

These neo-colonialists are the National Bourgeoisie of the oppressed New Afrikan Nation. The national bourgeoisie are Black politicians and business people (capitalists) who are integrationist and assimilationist. They aspire (by policy-making in organizations) to have the oppressed New Afrikan people to integrate and assimilate into the government of oppression. This ideal, as it has been historically manifested, is in essence an illusion in which it is the national bourgeoisie who benefits, with token concessions from the colonial government, rewarded for their efforts to maintain order and control of the New Afrikan people. The national bourgeoisie are identified as leaders of the NAACP, PUSH, National Urban League, Congressional Black Caucus, Johnson Products, Motown, etc. All of them work in the interests of the colonial government and in their own interests, aspiring integration and assimilation into this system of capitalist-imperialism; and by seeking to stifle the militant struggle of the oppressed New Afrikan people for independence.

The political wing of the national bourgeoisie is financed by Black capitalists and liberal White institutions (i.e. foundations) and corporate groups. Essentially they epitomize the structure of the colonial government by seeming to represent the interests of New Afrikan people. They attempt to persuade New Afrikans what is in their interest to struggle for or against in relationship to the policies of the colonial government. Their policy and interests are that of neo-colonial capitalists and intergrationists in relation to the oppressed New Afrikan Nation.

Under the national bourgeoisie are the petty bourgeoisie (cultural nationalist) middle class. These are the skilled Black professionals and marginal small business people which can be divided into two segments in a socio-psychological conception, but are equally Black capitalist. On the one hand, there are assimilationists and integrationists who are in every way like the national bourgeoisie, and on the other hand there are the cultural nationalists. The middle class cultural nationalist attempts to maintain a Black social consciousness in terms of identifying with the New Afrikan oppressed masses, but because they are in essence capitalist, their aspirations as pseudo-nationalist is forsaken. They

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are economically and materially tied to the system of oppression, and these ties are manifested politically as they tend to support and enhance the prospects of neo-colonialism, ensuring Blacks are the representatives of Blacks, who are the representatives of the colonial (U.S.A.) government. As an example, they seek to establish an independent Black political party to compete with other capitalist (ruling class) political institutions. They work to broaden and secure their class and national interest, working within the legitimate confines and avenues the colonial government allows for a given class or nationality to address their problems and seek redress to disenfranchisement and aspects of colonial subjugation. Hence, they are in actuality social and political reformists, utilizing the oppression of the New Afrikan masses as stepping stones to assure their own security and survival as capitalists. They also support upward mobility of other aspiring Black capitalists from the lower classes, building and strengthening their class status in competition with white middle and upper class capitalists. They are the bulwark supporters of the national bourgeoisie, even though as social reformers, potentially, they are capable of developing national Black social consciousness to motivate and influence the New Afrikan peoples' struggle for the end of colonial oppression, if they were to confront the colonial government for national emancipation and independence.

The majority of New Afrikans are of the lower class, workers and laborers, the proletariat class. They are the semi skilled and manual laborers, the office and factory workers, etc., whose standard of living is just above or at poverty level, many of whom subsist on a combination of work, welfare (medical aid, social security or veterans benefits, etc.), and hustling. The Black proletariat suffers from the brunt of the socio-economic oppression of capitalist exploitation and are most politically disenfranchised by the system of colonial domination. In juxtaposition to neo-colonial class divisions within the New Afrikan Nation, the capitalist system employs racist national oppression as the primary mechanism to keep the aspirations of the Black proletariat in check. This racist national oppression is found in every vestige of a Black proletariat existence: in housing, employment, health, and social institutions. The colonial government maintains the policies and regulates when and how such living means are to be dispensed in the New Afrikan community and/or to the benefit of the Black proletariat. Racist national oppression and class division, serve to trap the Black proletariat in a socio-economic condition and

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level of subsistence where poverty is always close at hand. But, socio-politically, the Black proletariat aspires to an end to colonial domination and racist oppression, and not for such conditions to be covered up in Black face. They are not in essence capitalist, but rather, they recognize they live in a capitalist society, and thereby must live in accordance to the norms by which a livelihood can be maintained. When such conditions of oppression become unbearable, the Black proletariat and youth are more likely to rebel (riots, strikes, boycotts, etc.) and demonstrate their frustration and anger to continued exploitation and racism.

Beneath the Black working class are the subculture lumpen-proletariat, the unskilled and menial laborers whose primary means of subsistence is based on hustling (stealing drugs, thievery, prostitution, etc.), marginal employment, and welfare. For the most part, the socio-economic provisions within the subculture are maintained by the "illegitimate capitalist" activity of the lumpen-proletariat. In accordance with their aspirations to fulfill the social values of the bourgeoisie, they employ business acumen in criminal activity for subsistence and profit. As they seek material wealth and social status of the bourgeoisie within the confines of the subculture, they are in many cases politically reactionary, unconcerned with anything other than personal survival and individual gain. It is only when the lumpen-proletariat are educated and become politically aware of their socio-economic condition, that the possibility exists for them to become staunch supporters of the revolution, recognizing their dire standard of living is based wholly on the system of oppression they are desperately trying to emulate.

This brief description of the class breakdown of the oppressed New Afrikan Nation provides some indication as to why it is so difficult for the oppressed Black masses to challenge the government of oppression in unity and struggle. This also determines why the first phase of FROLINAN theoretical position is one in which struggle must commence within the class divisions of the neo-colony, before New Afrikans can adequately challenge the colonial government to bend to the will of the New Afrikan Nation for complete independence and sovereignty.

By comprehending the class divisions within the neo-colony, we find the particularity of the principle contradiction that exists between the neo-colony and the colonial government with its national and international ramifications. Essentially, the particularity of the contradiction is one between the direction of

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the liberation movement; is it for integration or independence from this capitalist-imperialist system of oppression? It is this contradiction within the movement that determines the necessity for class struggle within the New Afrikan Nation. Such a struggle is necessary to evolve unity toward a single and principled revolutionary program and strategy to confront the colonial government. The contradiction as it presently exists, between the forces of integration and the forces for independence, is one in which each is building ideological, political programs and direction within the objective reality of the fight for civil and human rights. At this point, the contradiction is not antagonistic, but rather one of co-existence and in some cases mutual cohesion and accountability. It is this aspect of mutual accountability, if continued in unprincipled class collaboration, that will prevent the forces for independence from building and sustaining a revolutionary movement for complete independence.

Thus, class struggle for national unity must begin by understanding the aspects of the particular contradiction existing between two contending forces within the neo-colony, and how these forces in unity and struggle dialectically attract and repel one another politically, and determine the basis of this relationship with the oppressed New Afrikan people in building and sustaining their aspiration to fight for independence. Here it can be said that the struggle must commence by drawing a line of demarcation between programs and objectives of the two forces in relation to the oppressed New Afrikan masses.

This line of demarcation must be forged through ideological and political struggle, as well as socio-economic programs addressing the concrete realities of the oppressed disenfranchisement. Where the forces of integration fight for civil rights, the forces for independence must fight for civil rights as minimum objectives to attain within the process of building towards complete emancipation. In so doing, the forces for independence must at times call on the forces of integration to do more, to fight harder, to make greater demands on the colonial government (ie., for Black community control) and when they fail to do this, to condemn them for national betrayal, class collaboration and collusion with the enemy government. When such demands are made on the national bourgeoisie, for them to become responsive to the demands being made by revolutionary forces (especially the working class), they will either have to capitulate and show the oppressed masses their true political

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nature, as boot-licking lackeys, or antagonize the principle contradiction existing between the neo-colony and the colonial government, leading to confrontation. This is the point in which class struggle for national unity broadens and strengthens the capacity for revolutionary forces to organize and mobilize the oppressed New Afrikan masses to support and fight for national liberation.

At this time, the forces of integration (ie., National Bourgeoisie) have for the most part the greater influence over the New Afrikan people, because they are recognized as the official leaders and speakers of the neo-colony by the colonialist, while the oppressed masses are, for the most part, politically-integrated into the working mechanism (Democratic and Republican Party or building a National Black Independent Political Party and as wage earners) of the system of oppression, and thereby provide the neo-colonialist a semblance of legitimacy as representatives. Hence, the purpose of class struggle within the neo-colony is to erode this ideal of legitimacy the neo-colonialist wields, expose their relationship as it exists. To expose the means and method in which the colonial government maintains control over the oppressed New Afrikan Nation, by causing the contradiction between the neo-colonial integrationist and the colonialist to become antagonistic.

The momentum of the class struggle for national unity is for revolutionary nationalist forces to build support of the independence movement by dissecting the prospects of integration into this capitalist system. Class divisions within the structural foundation of capitalism determine the essential basis by which the particular contradiction rests, which in and of itself indicates integration in this system would be to perpetuate class division and exploitation of the neo-colony. Thus, class struggle for national unity also holds the principle contradiction, whereby to end class divisions within the neo-colony would be to end the means and method of control and national oppression the neo-colony suffers by the system of capitalist colonial imperialism.

The class struggle will inevitably cause a contradiction to arise amongst the neo-colonialist and their supporters, and it will heighten political consciousness and combativeness amongst all classes within the neo-colony. The various segments of the middle class will split for and against the course of development between the national bourgeoisie of the neo-colony, and the revolutionary nationalist working class as epitomized by the forces for

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independence. The working class will gain a better understanding of the political determination of the movement, gaining a class consciousness that will reinforce their nationalist fervor. The lumpen-proletariat subculture will also gain a class consciousness in which they will come to understand that their survival and development are based on the fulfillment of the revolutionary nationalist direction of the independence movement. In this way, national unity can be attained and evolve to a level where a greater number of the oppressed New Afrikan people will support the endeavors of the forces for independence and become staunch supporters of the independence movement. In this way, national unity can be attained and evolve to a level where a greater number of the oppressed New Afrikan people will support the endeavors of the forces for independence and become staunch supporters of the independence movement.

It must also be stated, during the course of the class struggle for national unity, the enemy government will seek to preserve the legitimacy of the neo-colonialist. They will afford them greater amounts of visibility in the media, become more politically friendly, give larger concessions and authority to command the mode and direction of the struggle. This is why it is so important that revolutionary nationalist forces make their programs for Black community control known amongst the New Afrikan people (especially the working class). They must diligently, relentlessly and vigorously challenge the national bourgeoisie civil rights program as minimum demands, insufficient to the needs of the New Afrikan Nation.

At first, the class struggle may appear to be divisive, but only until lines of demarcation have been drawn between two contending forces and directions in the neo-colony struggle for self determination and independence. Thereby, class struggle for national unity becomes an essential part of the liberation movement, a fight for Black community control, a part in which the particularities of the contradiction of class divisions within the neo-colony become a motivating factor by which the principle contradiction between the neo-colony and the colonial government becomes acute and antagonistic, and separation/independence become the ultimate goal to attain in a revolutionary nationalist struggle between the nationally-oppressed and the national oppressor.

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SECOND PHASE

National Unity for Self Government

Within the development of the first phase lies the seed of the second phase, the phase whereby national unity has been attained for the ideals of the independence movement. It then becomes possible to challenge the colonial government with a single national program to make concrete our immediate demands as expressed during the first phase in terms of civil and human rights. The concrete social and political struggle of the New Afrikan peoples' fight for self determination is characterized in economic and political terms of self government.

Hence, it can be established that the first phase is one in which the revolutionary nationalist forces fight to win the oppressed New Afrikan masses to support Black community control in the independence movement. The programs and struggle for civil and human rights are tactical initiatives to build and sustain the movement on the socio-economic level, while ideologically and politically the class struggle evolves political class consciousness on a national level to the ideals of independence and self government.

Thereby, the New Afrikan Nation has become educated and organized into a national liberation front, a united front in national unity, and in the second phase, they are mobilized for self-determination and self-government. Our national unity is decisive; it is our strength and foundation for the future, and our fight for self government is pre-requisite to total and complete independence. Encompassing this theory for emancipation is the objective and concrete realities of the fight for civil and human rights as expressed in the first phase. It is manifested, and the fertilization of the seed for independence as planted in the first phase – class struggle for national unity – is then cultivated in the second phase, national unity for self government, and will be harvested in the last phase.

The political programs of FROLINAN in national unity for self-government is to cement the struggle for independence. To demand of control of the socio-economic and political institutions in the ghettos/barrios of the urban and rural areas where New Afrikan people comprise the majority, independent of the federal colonial (U.S.A.) government control. To strengthen and intensify the political struggle between the nationally oppressed and the

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national oppressor and to socio-economically consolidate the prospects for national independence are the basic conditions by which the movement will evolve qualitatively in both the national and international political arena. This leads to the principle contradiction of two antagonistic, contending political forces and national wills. The demand and struggle for complete control of institutions, resources and the wealth of the oppressed nation will be the character of the second phase. It then becomes essential at this phase to call for the assistance of FROLINAN international supporters, to support and assist in the socio-economic and political objectives in building New Afrikan communities independent of the colonial government. But at the same time, it will be incumbent upon the colonial (U.S.A.) government to preserve a practical relationship with the New Afrikan Nation, a relationship of economic and political co-existence and interdependence. Hence, we see the dialectics of unity and struggle of opposites in the principle contradiction, between two contending forces and nationals.

Thus, this second phase is a prerequisite to national independence. It is a phase in which the New Afrikan Nation begins to formulate the means and method of self-government in the geographical areas where New Afrikans constitute the majority: to control and direct the resources, labor, institutions and wealth which determines the extent of their livelihood. The demands of civil and human rights as applicable to these social, political, and economic conditions will preserve the growth and development of the liberation movement, as New Afrikans become self-determinative in manifesting their future on all fronts. The federal colonial government will be called upon to relinquish taxation on New Afrikans so that this tax money will be redistributed in accordance to the needs of the New Afrikan Nation communities, and for the establishment of the New Afrikan sovereignty. It will also be called for the building of the New Afrikan security force/military; for the construction of New Afrikan industries in the national territory of Kush, building a national economic system to support the autonomous regions (New Afrikan communities) across the country and developing economic ties internationally; to demand the release of New Afrikan prisoners to support the building of the New Afrikan Nation in both rural and urban areas; to organize a national plebescite and vote for independence; to be monitored by the United Nations and Organization of Afrikan Unity; to demand reparations for slave labor of over 400 years

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and damages for colonial exploitation and domination at cost of \$500 million at 6% semi-annual interest, since 1865 to the present. These and other aspects of FROLINAN's national political program will become the predominant objective to raise in confrontation with the colonial government in national unity for self-government.

In this way, the New Afrikan people will consolidate their national aspirations to be independent of racist, national oppression and capitalist-imperialist exploitation. While the first phase is to win the minds of New Afrikan people in national unity to the concept of Black community control, and an end to class divisions and neo-colonialism; the second phase is to mobilize the body of New Afrikans to become self-determinative, self-governed, and bring an end to colonial domination toward the ultimate goal of national independence.

THIRD PHASE

Self Government for National Independence

The first two phases were for building the movement and consolidating it – where New Afrikan people comprise the majority geographically – establishing a national political consciousness, socio-economic and cultural development for national independence. The third phase, Self-Government for National Independence, is to fight for the national territory of Kush, to win the war and free the land.

It can be easily determined based on this proposition that the third phase depends much on the success of the first two phases. Once FROLINAN has established a revolutionary nationalist social consciousness amongst the oppressed masses to want and fight for control of the Black community and further consolidate this social and political consciousness toward self-government, the prospects of substantiating the ultimate goals of national independence become more realistic and plausible in the overall scheme of this undertaking. Each step is a tactical initiative within a national strategy, each tactical initiative being strategically developed to formulate the necessary socio-economic, political, and cultural ingredients into a national program in which the various segments of the independence movement can fulfill.

The third phase is the final stage, to mobilize the entire nation to free the land, employing all the resources available to the

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movement in challenging the colonial government for complete independence. The goal is to recover the territory the oppressed nation once occupied and controlled by its labor and ownership of the land granted by the government when it first freed New Afrikans from chattel slavery in 1863. This is the phase in which the national aspirations of New Afrikans, as determined through the course of the struggle, will be called to task to wrestle the national territory from the colonial government. The mobilization of New Afrikans will be in national demonstrations, and strangling the economic development of the colonial government, as well as intensifying the guerrilla war in both urban and rural areas, gaining international support on the specific objectives of national independence.

This is a time when the call will be made for mass migration to Kush and where economic, social, and political development will concentrate in the national territory. The transferring of economic and political resources and finances from out of the autonomous regions to the national territory will create a social, economic, and political upheaval for the colonial government, greater than the struggles created in the first two phases. It will cause a major shift in the relationship of the autonomous regions with the colonial government in each area, diffusing and disrupting what may have been tentatively secured economic and political areas of co-existence between the colonial government and New Afrikan communities (or Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika and FROLINAN).

Of course, this fight for Kush cannot be fully developed until the course of the struggle for self government has evolved the mechanisms and institutions for governmental organization of national magnitude with international recognition; providing the essential tasks of a government in all socio-economic and political fronts, such as in agriculture, industries (for food and employment), for national security, etc. It cannot be expected of New Afrikans to sacrifice beyond the exercise and expectations of a government to provide stable livelihood for its nationals. Hence, the reasons for the first two phases, in which New Afrikans will be organized in national unity and self government, utilizing the skills and resources within the oppressed nation, establishing a national social consciousness and political determination for the inevitable fight to free the land. Thereby, the first two phases line up the social, economic, and political aspects of the struggle in a strategic position to challenge the colonial government

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weaknesses. In so doing, FROLINAN will establish the criteria by which the sacrifices for the fight for national independence will be minimized. It will then maximize the prospects of securing a liberated New Afrikan government in the national territory, having the government of New Afrika function with as much efficiency as possible arising out of the national liberation struggle.

Thus, self-government for national independence, the third phase of this theory, strategically is the phase in which all others work to accomplish: the point in the national liberation struggle where New Afrikans are in a position of strength beyond the capacity of the colonial government to destroy the independence movement. The seed of independence planted in the first phase and cultivated in the second phase will have blossomed in the third phase in which national independence will become an accomplished reality.

In conclusion, this theoretical proposition determines the need of the national liberation struggle, first by recognizing and organizing the New Afrikan Nation on the ideal of national independence, having our talented, skilled and educated return to the Black communities; then by having them to live, work, and build the political and social movement in the Black community under the guiding principles of class struggle for national unity; and finally by developing a political and socio-economic foundation toward self sufficiency and self reliance amongst the New Afrikan people on the principle of national unity for self government.

This course of struggle will assure the independence movement will not become subjugated to the class struggle of Euro-Americans. FROLINAN will not hold the class and national struggle of New Afrikans in abeyance or subject to the class struggle of Euro-Americans. FROLINAN maintains the New Afrikan Independence Movement is independent of and held in juxtaposition to the class struggle of Euro-Americans. Thereby, the fulfillment of this proposition does not negate a relationship with the class struggle of Euro-Americans, but rather bases such a relationship on the political determination of the New Afrikan Independence Movement and not in reverse. Furthermore, FROLINAN holds that building the national liberation struggle is to free New Afrikans socio-psychologically, socio-economically, politically and culturally from neo-colonialism as a particular aspect of the principle struggle to end colonial domination. The course of the struggle for self-government for national

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independence is to free the land – the national territory of Kush.

This theoretical proposition is not all encompassing addressing the current direction and sectarian condition of the national liberation struggle as it exists at this time. What is elucidated herein, is the position of FROLINAN to provide a motivating factor in which to play down sectarianism and heighten the prospect of united action amongst the many revolutionary nationalist organizations across the country. Such united actions that will embrace the New Afrikan Nation in national unity toward the objective goal of self government as prerequisite to national independence. Therefore, it is FROLINAN's position, this theoretical proposition attaches to the national liberation movement a concept for the development of a national strategy. A national strategy which all authentic revolutionary nationalist organizations must embrace and fulfill under the auspices of FROLINAN in unity and struggle. It is this concept for the development of a national liberation strategy which will build, strengthen and fortify the national liberation struggle. It is based on the revolutionary principle that without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.

Here rests the theoretical proposition to build and sustain a revolutionary movement – the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

NATIONAL STRATEGY

Basic Aim and Objectives Program for Decolonization

The national strategy's basic aims and objectives are to establish a Program for Decolonization that encompasses the strategic and tactical goals of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. It is within the development of a Program for Decolonization that national liberation will be accomplished. The Program for Decolonization must afford a tactical initiative attacking the social, political, economic, and cultural manifestation of disenfranchisement New Afrikans suffer as a neo-colony, and it seeks the means to rid New Afrikans of oppression, strategically leading to national independence.

The Program of Decolonization is a program for national liberation and a strategy in the independence movement to be fulfilled tactically by the various members of FROLINAN and New Afrikan revolutionary nationalists across the country. We therefore

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call for the establishment of several national organizations to be constructed under the auspices of FROLINAN.

NATIONAL UNION OF NEWAFRIKAN WORKERS

The National Union of New Afrikan Workers (NUNAW) is a national network of New Afrikan political activists in urban and rural areas, who function on the organizing principle of FROLINAN in the work-place (industries, companies, manufacturers, office workers, etc.). Their primary goal and objective is to raise the political consciousness of New Afrikan workers to the socio-economic condition inherent in the system of monopoly capitalism. In so doing, they will organize New Afrikan workers into labor federations, who will call for the implementation of FROLINAN's Program for Decolonization at the workplace.

It will be the responsibility of NUNAW to address the problems of affirmative action in the work-place, to call for owners of the means of production to relinquish profits for the development of New Afrikan communities, and have them not engage in economic ventures in reactionary Afrikan countries. NUNAW will also be responsible for establishing a national body of workers in a union formation to fortify the political thrust of the independence movement in the economic sphere. On the rural front, NUNAW will be responsible for organizing agrarian collectives and co-ops, and for establishing rural industries.

Eventually, it will be the responsibility to NUNAW to develop a national economic system as a foundation for the liberated national territory of KUSH and the establishment of the New Afrikan Nation. Hence, NUNAW is the backbone of the independence movement in building and strengthening the class struggle for national unity, by organizing the Black proletariat under the auspices of FROLINAN's Program for Decolonization.

Furthermore, because of the role NUNAW will play in support of New Afrikan workers, it has the potential to become the most powerful sector within the New Afrikan communities across the country. As New Afrikans are victims of inequality in the economic system of monopoly capitalism, they have often organized separately on the job to advance their interests and protect their rights. New Afrikan workers in general, and those who are employed by multi-national corporations in particular,

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should be organized around demands that more jobs be made available to our people by cutting back in the use of cheap labor abroad. New Afrikan workers should be organized against state and federal government sanctions allowing multi-national corporations to hire foreign workers abroad at less than the national minimum wage required by state and federal law in the U.S. There should be a minimum wage hiring act that applies to all U.S.-owned business and corporations and that applies to all employees on their payroll regardless of territory. These aims can be furthered through the following demands:

1. Call for rank and file democratic & control of the unions currently in existence and for the elimination of all racial practices in the labor movement. Equal rights for all New Afrikan workers.
2. Call the preferential hiring and advancement of New Afrikan workers and free access to apprentice training programs, the skilled trades and higher paying supervisory posts in affirmative action.
3. Call for an escalator clause in all union contracts to assure automatic wage adjustment to keep up with the rising cost of living (inflation/recession).
4. Call for a shorter work week at standard living wages allowing the means for unemployed to gain employment, preserving the need of productivity.
5. Call for speedier grievance procedures and safety inspection with no restrictions on the right to strike.
6. Call for the complete independence of unions from government interference. Repeal of all anti-labor laws. End prisoners' slavery and uphold their right to unionize.

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7. Call for the establishment of a national import quota on products made by foreign corporations outside the U.S. territory, a balance in import/export trade.
8. Call for workers' control of industry through factory committees elected by the workers on the job.
9. Call for big business taxes to subsidize New Afrikan community projects, ie., health clinics, child day care centers, drug rehabilitation programs, prisoners parole training programs, senior citizen day care programs, etc.
10. Call for multi-national corporations in conjunction with the U.S. government to give reparations to the New Afrikan Nation by subsidizing industrial construction and agricultural development in the New Afrikan Nation.

These democratic demands within the Program for Decolonization build the foundation in which FROLINAN political activists can organize New Afrikan workers in NUNAW, and have NUNAW become a motivating factor in building the class struggle for national unity in the independence movement.

NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF NEW AFRIKAN STUDENTS

The National Alliance of New Afrikan Students (NANAS) is a national network of New Afrikan student groups and activists functioning under the auspices of FROLINAN's Program for Decolonization. It will be the responsibility of NANAS to formulate a national direction on school campuses across the country, to support the development on the New Afrikan Independence Movement; to have New Afrikan history programs established, taught and maintained by professionals who are in support of the independence movement; and to have New Afrikan students become more aware of their responsibility in the independence movement, by organizing tutoring courses in high school, and building liberation schools in the ghetto/barrio.

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It is important that New Afrikan students know they are the future of the independence movement and essentially are the principle leaders of the movement. With this understanding, they will be able to apply themselves in education and in other extracurricular activity to the well-being of the movement and the security of the Nation. Students must recognize that their education is not solely for individual gain and pleasure, but rather, for the building of minds to serve the movement and the Nation. They must become politically aware of their relationship to the Nation, and it is the responsibility of NANAS to assure New Afrikan students are organized in support of FROLINAN's Program for Decolonization. This program dealing in the area of education will allow NANAS to become the motivating factor in assuring its development and success. The following are the NANAS program:

1. Election of community control boards to supervise schools in the New Afrikan community.
2. Establish an educational system and curriculum which meets the needs of New Afrikan children, prepares them for the future in economic and technical skills and technical security of the New Afrikan Nation, and gives them a knowledge of themselves and an understanding of the true history and culture of Afrikan people.
3. To involve parents in every phase of school life as part of the development of community involvement in the political life of the independence movement.
4. Under the direction of FROLINAN to support a program to train Black academicians, historians (so-called) intellectuals, and administrators in the principles and policy of class and national liberation struggle, and the objective of community control of the education system.
5. To support FROLINAN's position that community groups should be entitled to use school facilities to promote activities for the benefit of the community and the independence

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movement.

6. In support of FROLINAN's direction, to call for the dismissal of all school officials who victimize or insult students or racial groups, or are found to be directly in cahoots with the colonial government efforts to suppress FROLINAN's education Program for Decolonization.
7. Support the establishment of community liberation schools to introduce special tutoring programs for all students who have fallen behind in their studies and to offer a full program of adult education to teach the political motives and direction of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, the prospect of a national social democratic society.

For High School Students:

1. Establishing student policy-making boards to run student activities in the high schools, handle disciplinary problems and participate in the general supervision of the schools.
2. To hold regular school assemblies to discuss school problems and ascertain the will of the student body in conjunction with the independence movement.
3. Maintain the rights of all students and teachers. These include the freedom of expression, freedom to organize and to pass out literature, freedom from censorship of school newspapers, freedom of assembly and the right to invite outside speakers regardless of their political views.
4. End disciplinary expulsions and suspensions. If there is a problem with a particular student, it must be brought to the policy-making board, for

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them to deal with the problem, without having the student lose in education.

5. Special tutoring for all students who fall behind in their studies, and for the development of a study program teaching New Afrikan history and the real nature of monopoly-capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism. To further upgrade job training programs and adequate preparation for all students to attend college.

In this aspect of the Program for Decolonization, NANAS will be able to organize students on both the high school and college levels, working in conjunction with one another in support of FROLINAN's political program. In this way, the political development of the independence movement becomes a total part of the education process of students, each working for the benefit of the other for as long as New Afrikan students must attend schools controlled by the colonial government.

The primary objective is to control the schools in the ghetto/barrios and within the development of the class struggle for national unity, to have New Afrikan educators become responsible to the needs and development of the independence movement. It is in the process of freeing our minds of cultural imperialism that our oppressed nation will be able to free ourselves from national oppression and colonial domination.

The building of NANAS will be the forging of a youth movement on school campuses under the auspices of FROLINAN. This youth movement will have a practical program to develop directly in relation to education and the political development of FROLINAN. Hence, NANAS is the spirit of the independence movement, New Afrikan youth organized in a national network of groups and activists to establish FROLINAN's Program for Decolonization in the heart of the New Afrikan community, strengthening foundation of the New Afrikan Nation.

NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE ACADEMY

The building of the New Afrikan Independence Academy (NAIA) is the essential tool with which FROLINAN broadens its organizing ability in the New Afrikan community. The New

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Afrikan Independence Academy is the needed liberation schools established for the purpose of teaching and training New Afrikan youth, adults and members of FROLINAN in the political direction of the independence movement. These liberation schools will be organized in a national network by New Afrikan members of NANAS, NUNAW, political educators and activists in support of the independence movement. It is FROLINAN's position that the New Afrikan community should have universities which are in support of New Afrikan independence struggle and against national oppression, cultural imperialism and colonialism; where such universities do not exist, the New Afrikan Independence Academy will serve this program.

These academies will be education centers, established in urban and rural communities to forge education in Afrikan history, political and social science, economics, business and organization administration, and technical training conducive to the preservation of the independence movement. The curriculum of the academy will be divided to serve youth and adult education, specially developed to evolve leadership quality amongst New Afrikans and fulfill the needs of the national program and strategy of FROLINAN. The New Afrikan Independence Academy will be established by a national education board consisting of progressive Black academicians, historians, intellectuals, FROLINAN political activists and students, who will be responsible for developing a national curriculum instituted in all academies across the country. This national curriculum will serve to assure those involved in the independence movement understand the ideals and practice of the struggle in a single or similar viewpoint, which also assists the struggle against sectarianism and narrow nationalism that retards the growth and development of the liberation struggle.

PANTHER YOUTH CORPS

The Panther Youth Corps (PYC) is FROLINAN's pre-teen and young adult youth organization whose primary activity is to learn the foundation in which the independence movement is being organized. Similar to PLO's Fedayeen youths, Simba, the PYC will serve to develop the young minds of our oppressed nation of the ideals, principles, concepts and fortitude of nationhood.

In the course of the liberation movement, the most courageous brothers and sisters that have ever organized the New Afrikan community were those members of the Black Panther

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Party. This history must not be forgotten, but rather maintained in a principled and dialectical fashion that will preserve that spirit of resistance in the liberation movement. Thusly, FROLINAN will use the name Panther as the foundation in which the spirit of resistance will be taught to our young. They will become young Panthers progressively forging this determination of our history of struggle toward the finer and better modes of struggle embodied in the socio-economic and political program of FROLINAN.

The PYC will also serve the aspirations of the elementary grade school children in conjunction with NANAS in establishing a national curriculum conducive to their education and development. As essential part of their activity will be field trips to sites of noted interest to New Afrikans, community recreation activity, history classes and other programs to strengthen their impressionable young minds in disciplined understanding of their responsibility and place in the oppressed New Afrikan Nation.

NEW AFRIKAN CHILDREN CENTERS

The New Afrikan Children Centers (NACC) are child day care centers established by FROLINAN and operated by members of the oppressed New Afrikan community and FROLINAN organizers. These day care centers will operate to serve the needs of working parents and political activists who need someone to look after their children, while they are out securing a livelihood and/or fulfilling the political objectives of the independence movement.

These centers depending on location, will also serve free breakfast for school children in the neighborhood, and generally be supportive of the development of the community in respects to the growth of children in conjunction with the PYC and other student related programs. Although the New Afrikan Children Center will mostly be responsible for children from the age of one to five years of age, these children will be taught basic skills and practices that will enhance their intelligence aptitude and understanding of the world around them.

It is in the development of the New Afrikan Children Centers that will further the building of FROLINAN and forge its program in the heart of the New Afrikan community, fulfilling a need and concern that affects most families. Having the community support the centers would be to have New Afrikan families support the

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political motivation by which FROLINAN seeks to build the independence movement.

NEW AFRIKAN COMMUNITY HEALTH CLINICS

The New Afrikan Community Health Clinics (NACHC) are institutions established in the New Afrikan community for which preventive medicine will be the primary method of operation. These clinics will serve the New Afrikan community in regard to dentistry, abortion, drug rehabilitation, rape crises, acupuncture, hypertension, stress and other forms of physical and mental complications New Afrikans suffer and find common in their communities. It will also be the responsibility of the health clinics to formulate Sickle Cell Anemia research and HIV-AIDS prevention programs as a central health awareness campaign in the New Afrikan community, in conjunction with the overall political program of FROLINAN.

These New Afrikan Community Health Clinics are essential tools by which FROLINAN serves a particular interest in the community, and as part of the campaign to combat genocides in health care New Afrikans suffer across the country. It is FROLINAN's position that we as a nation must have responsible, trained, professional doctors and medics to fill the various positions that these clinics will serve. Upon the development of the class struggle for national unity, these medical professionals will be organized to serve the needs of New Afrikan people and the independence movement. Thus, the establishment of NACHC is a necessary part of FROLINAN's organizing platform, building its program for the survival and inevitable liberation of the New Afrikan Nation.

NEW AFRIKAN FOOD CO-OP PROGRAM

The New Afrikan Food Co-Op Program (NAFCOP) is a FROLINAN project to organize members of the New Afrikan community to unite in cooperative economic planning in securing wholesale produce and food stuff. With the development of food co-ops and the socio-economic interaction of members of the community, the community will formulate working relationships for the improvement of the entire group. This also is the basic

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means in which FROLINAN educates New Afrikans of the ideals of community responsibility, development, and survival during the course of the independence movement. Efforts will be made to develop farming cooperatives, whereby agriculture will be used in the supplying of food co-ops in urban areas. The establishment of food co-ops will ensure the growth and development of FROLINAN's national program and strategy.

These food co-ops will strengthen the political determination of the need to free the land as an essential and recognized objective, as New Afrikans understand the need for us to feed ourselves. The food co-ops will become a practical organizing tool both politically and organizationally, a central foundation to serve other aspects of FROLINAN's national strategy, such as the free breakfast program for school children. It is when New Afrikan Food Co-op Markets are established, comprising hundreds of community co-op groups through the New Afrikan community, that FROLINAN will be able to gauge the strength of its political determination in organizing New Afrikans under the auspices of its national program towards self government and independence.

THE NEW AFRIKAN COMMUNITY ALERT PATROL

The New Afrikan Community Alert Patrol (NACAP) will become a network of New Afrikan men and women organized for the defense of the New Afrikan community. It will establish security patrols against vigilantes, killer cops, racists, and black on black crime. These New Afrikans will be trained in police tactics and codes to protect the New Afrikan community in patrols as security guards. They will compile information and intelligence of high crime areas that are frequented by outsiders; they will be responsible for the protection of our senior citizens and youth, as well as various political programs, demonstrations, etc. Members of NACAP will be trained in martial arts, weapons, drilling, police science, crowd control, and military science encompassing guerrilla warfare.

One of the primary objectives of FROLINAN's political program is to have the colonial government occupation army (police) withdraw from the New Afrikan community. But in order to gain the support of New Afrikans in this endeavor, it is essential that community residents feel safe and confident. The folks in the

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community must believe their lives will not be in any greater danger once the occupying army is forced to withdraw from the community. It is important that the community understand that the police occupy our territory primarily to protect the property of the capitalists, who for the most part do not live in our communities. FROLINAN's call for community control and self government will become a motivating factor by which the establishment of NACAP is an essential part.

It must also be put forth that drugs and black on black crime is a problem that causes the occupying (police) army to be called to stay in and around the New Afrikan community. It is with the liquidation of the distribution, selling, and consumption of drugs and black on black crime, and when New Afrikans become responsible to each other in respect to the independence movement, that the community will be organized in its highest operative development. Eventually, NACAP will be organized into a peoples' militia to serve the development of the armed struggle for national liberation. These community alert patrols will be the means in which members of the New Afrikan community will gain experience in working in a disciplined security conscious apparatus. They will gain with the high ideals and responsibility of protecting the New Afrikan community.

NEWAFRIKAN P.O.W. ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

The New Afrikan P.O.W. Program (NAPOWAP) will be developed to assure that New Afrikan captives are assisted in their efforts to be released from prison. Such assistance will be formulated in legal support in defense of our captured, pre-release programs for those about to be released on parole or discharged, political assistance in building programs and campaigns of national impact concerning the prison movement, and when possible, financial aid for the family of captives. In the past, the prison movement has lent significant political support to the general independence movement. Many of those captured had been principle leaders in the movement on the streets. Where they might be able to continue to give leadership and enhance the development of the independence movement, it will be the responsibility of NAPOWAP to ensure they are provided the essential assistance in mutual regard to the independence movement and FROLINAN's Program for Decolonization.

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Emphasis will be given to the development of national campaigns for amnesty and/or exchange of political prisoners of war, the ending of prison slavery and repeal of the 13th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution as it upholds prison slavery, call for the unionization of prisoners' labor and minimum wage remuneration for their labor, call for the release of New Afrikan prisoners nationally, for them to return to the national territory of Kush and support the agricultural development of the New Afrikan Nation, for the immediate end of the death penalty, and for the release of New Afrikans in military prisons. All of this is part of the Program for Decolonization and Ten Point Program.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF NEW AFRIKAN WOMEN

The National Organization of New Afrikan Women (NONAW) will become a national network of New Afrikan women organized under the auspices of FROLINAN's political direction. The express purpose of NONAW will be to fulfill the Program for Decolonization, and to address the problems affecting New Afrikan women in general. We do not separate problems affecting New Afrikan women from the major problems confronting the oppressed nation. We must differentiate the problems besetting New Afrikan women from those expressed by women of the oppressor nation and their movement. It is important that New Afrikan women recognize that their responsibility in the New Afrikan Independence Movement is wholly encompassing their liberation from sex discrimination, which is an essential aspect of colonial oppression. Once this understanding is reinforced in the political matrix of the independence movement, New Afrikan women will take leadership roles and responsibility in the independence movement.

Furthermore, FROLINAN holds dearly to the ideal that our women are the backbone of the New Afrikan Nation. They nurture our young, providing them with wisdom of life, and further secure a household and family, the very fabric of the nation. It is the women of the New Afrikan Nation and their staunch support and participation in the various Programs for Decolonization who will ensure the independence movement is victorious. In their support of the Programs for Decolonization, they will become liberated by working for the liberation of the nation. They will establish the basis for unity and equality among gender roles while working in

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their responsibility towards the oppressed nation.

We hold that our women can become fighters for independence at whatever level of the struggle they wish to attend or are needed. We also maintain that the establishment of secure family households is the foundation in which women are most needed. We hold to this position because over the years and due to slavery and vestiges of colonialism, the New Afrikan household has become disunited and fractionalized. Historically, it has been the women who have held what family structure we now have together. It is most necessary that this development does not erode, but rather becomes stable and grows stronger, as families become a part of the independence movement.

In this regard, particular ideological and social questions need to be addressed by our women, such as the ideal of polygamy, monogamy, and the effects of homosexuality; how to combat prostitution; the building of viable educational institutions and development of positive images for our children in our communities; and the establishment of health and day care centers, rape crisis and sterilization/abortion centers, etc. These are issues of social and political significance that have particular effects on women, and affect our oppressed nation. We therefore call upon our women to lead the fight against these social and political problems that have disastrous effects on our family structures in particular, and the social mores of the New Afrikan Nation in general. These and other areas of concern embodied in the Program for Decolonization are where women will take leadership responsibility, encompassing the struggle in the home, in the community, at the work place, and within the political development of the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

These ten organizational programs are the essential determinations by which FROLINAN will build its Program for Decolonization, establishing a national strategy within the New Afrikan Independence Movement. The emphasis is placed on organizing New Afrikans, and in doing so educating them on the ideals of independence, to build toward national liberation by employing the Three Phase Theory for National Independence, and the manifestation of the Program for Decolonization. It is with the fulfillment of the Three Phase Theory, in conjunction with the Program for Decolonization, that FROLINAN will build the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Each organizational program compliments the other, broadening the prospects for unified and even development across the country.

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While these organizational programs are of socio-economic and political significance of strategic magnitude, there are tactical political issues that need to be addressed. For instance, the question of voter registration, as well as when and where time and energy may be exerted to register New Afrikans to vote. This issue must be considered in respect to electing politicians within the framework of the colonial government.

It is held within our theoretical outlook that those who work within the structure of the colonial (U.S.A.) government do not necessarily work in the interest of the independence movement. For the most part, elected officials comprise those New Afrikans who are in actuality neo-colonialist bourgeois agents. It then becomes a matter of principle in organizational and political development to engage or not to engage in voter registration and the electing of New Afrikans to function in the colonial (U.S.A.) government. The principle involved is one of not comprising our theoretical and political understanding of the nature of our national oppression. In this regard, we hold that where voter registration for the election of New Afrikans may have short range tactical significance, strategically, it is of no value. It is the strategic development of the New Afrikan Independence Movement we are concerned with foremost. Therefore, FROLINAN will not seek to elect political candidates for office within the colonial government. It is our position the colonial government can do nothing other than relinquish to our demands for national independence to relieve our condition of national oppression and colonial domination. If a political party within the New Afrikan Independence Movement seeks to have a member of their organization elected to a position within the colonial government, we will give critical support to them when it can be assured their aspirations do not conflict with the interests of the independence movement.

The only exception to this position is when voting for positions or direction within the independence movement and the development of a struggle for community control. In this respect, it is important that New Afrikans take part in the development of the movement, such as a plebiscite vote, or voting for supervisors to maintain control of the schools, the health institutions and police in our communities. Many of these political electoral positions are relative to forging social and political consciousness toward substantiating the building of the independence movement under the auspices of the Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation.

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FROLINAN TEN POINT PLATFORM

1. We want National Independence and the power to determine the destiny of the New Afrikan Nation. We believe that New Afrikans will not be free or able to determine their own destiny until they have ended neo-colonial and capitalist-imperialist domination. It hereby becomes essential that our struggle commences with the fight for Black community control, a fight that will be the first step toward self-government, which is a prerequisite to national independence.

2. We want full employment of our people. We believe that the federal government and this system of monopoly-capitalism is responsible for the abject poverty and the basis for unemployment existing in the New Afrikan community. This provides the basis for under development in the New Afrikan community, giving rise to socio-economic and political disenfranchisement of New Afrikans. Thereby, the fight for Black community control encompasses a fight for community development in which the federal government and multi-national corporations provide economic incentive to produce jobs in the New Afrikan community. This is the major formulation in which revolutionary nationalists are to establish a relationship with the colonial (U.S.A.) government, to assure federal funds are allocated to the New Afrikan community for constructive development and jobs.

3. We want the end of capitalist exploitation of the New Afrikan community, national liberation of the national territory of Kush, and reparations for over 400 years of national oppression. We demand all tax money expropriations from New Afrikan people be appropriated for the development in the national territory of Kush.

4. We want decent housing and control of the land in which New Afrikans reside. In the past, the landlord who owned the property of New Afrikan residences usually lived outside the community and did not care for the land and housing dwelling. Based upon that experience and the struggle for Black community control and self government, we demand ownership of the property in which we reside, to be developed in cooperatives and communal control.

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5. We want education for our people that not only exposes the true nature of monopoly-capitalism and imperialism, but also provides the historical foundation in which our cultural development is based in this country in relation to other people of color throughout the world; such an education that provides our youth with the essential skills and incentive to become a part of the independence movement. As we demand control of the community in which we reside, the development of academic institutions becomes a fundamental part of the security of the independence movement, to build leaders for the future, in preserving the prospects for self determination. Hence, education is to evolve understanding of the development of the struggle for self determination, but also the historical and practical academic foundation in which the New Afrikan Nation is to preserve its destiny.

6. We want all New Afrikans to be exempt from military service in the colonial (U.S.A.) government, as it is our position that all wars by the colonial government are wars of aggression for the colonial domination and imperialist exploitation of lesser developed nations/countries, and other people of color victimized by the same forces of racism and capitalist exploitation New Afrikans are currently under subjugation. We demand exemption from military service in the colonial government and call for the building of a New Afrikan Peoples Liberation Army to fight for and establish the security and well being of New Afrikans.

7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of New Afrikan people. We believe that the police of the colonial (U.S.A.) government acts as an occupation force to maintain control and order for the benefit of the colonial government. We believe that the police motives are not in the basic interest of New Afrikans and their community, but rather, in the interest of the capitalist class who have business and own property in the New Afrikan community. In the course of establishing Black community control, we call for the immediate withdrawal of the occupation police army from our communities, and for New Afrikans to establish their own security system. We also maintain the right of self-defense against racist police repression and brutality, to bear arms, and organize self-defense groups to preserve the security of the New Afrikan community.

National Strategy for FROLINAN

8. We want the immediate release of all New Afrikan people held in federal, state, county, and city prisons and jails. We believe that the system of national oppression has not provided New Afrikans with fair and impartial trials or hearings, in which the bias and prejudice inherent in the system served to assure their imprisonment. Furthermore, the judicial system is one of the major tools by which the system of oppression uses to stifle the fruition of the national liberation struggle and every aspect in which New Afrikans fight for civil and human rights. It is therefore held that the police, courts, and prisons are all a part of the system of oppression and are unable to dispense justice and impartiality towards New Afrikans who might come before them for a trial or hearing. We call for all New Afrikans, when brought to trial, to be tried by a jury of their peers or people from their New Afrikan community, and if found guilty for them to be sentenced to areas of confinement in or near the New Afrikan community. We maintain the colonial (U.S.A.) government has no right to try any New Afrikan for as long as a state of war exists between two nations and colonial domination persists, and that all captive members of NAPLA or the Black underground be recognized as political prisoners of war and afforded Geneva Accord status.

9. We want the right to be free of colonial domination, capitalist exploitation and national oppression. We demand full control of the New Afrikan community where we are a majority, for the express purpose of self-government toward national independence. We call on the United Nations and the Organization of Afrikan Unity to recognize the existence of a nationally oppressed New Afrikan people and nation in the United States and for them to conduct a national plebiscite for the purpose of a vote of independence, giving recognition to the New Afrikan Nation in the western hemisphere.

10. We want the right to migrate to the national territory of Kush and establish an independent nation separate from the colonial (U.S.A.) government of the United States of America. We believe New Afrikans have had enough of over 400 years of national oppression and are willing to establish their own nation employing the resources and labor inherent in the New Afrikan Nation. We claim the five states of the black belt as our national homeland in this country having named the national territory Kush and are bound to liberate this territory in a national liberation struggle,

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to eventually migrate to the national territory and establish the government of the Republic of New Afrika.

Author's Note: Since the original writing and distribution of the National Strategy of FROLINAN, on August 17, 1995, revolutionary nationalists organized the New Afrikan Liberation Front (NALF). The NALF adopted the Three Phase Theory for National Independence, and the various member formations of NALF are developing and implementing Decolonization Programs in forging a national strategy. For more information on NALF, contact the following:

**NALF – Administrative Office
P.O. Box 340084
Jamaica, NY 11434**

Muntaqim, Jalil A. We Are Our Own Liberators : Selected Prison Writings (2nd Edition).

Portland, OR, USA: Arissa Media Group, LLC, 2010. p 142.

<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/iupui/Doc?id=10447254&ppg=151>

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What Color is Your Blues?

Blues, what is that?
is it a feeling or the color
of a fact?

They say all peoples got the
blues, is yours like mine?
it might be Azure or Powder,
possibly Aqua or Navy.
What is the blues to you?

Mine?
My Blues is Black,
like the color of night
when the sun sets,
after the stars illuminate the
sky in contrast to the moon.

My Blues is Black,
darker than Navy,
thicker than brown gravy,
it ain't even shady,
it is plain 'ole Black.

You know, like Black like that, Black
cat crossing your tracks, like it knew
it'll make you blue.

My Blues ain't like Jazz,
improvisation and syncopation,
a freewheeling rhythm
of anticipation.

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What Color is Your Blues?

Naw, Blues is like slow
dancing in the rain
with no umbrella to protect
you against the pain.

My Blues is Black
As in shades of despair,
Like Afrikans herded in
Bowels of ships,
lives in disrepair.

Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner blues,
the kind of blues white people run
away from when they see it coming.

It is deeper than Harriet
Tubman's underground railroad!

Ya know what I'm saying.

Blues – Black Blues, no good news,
just plain 'ole blues. That down South,
Jim Crow blues, when you can't chose
the color of your blues, 'cuz color is
segregated into Black and White.

Yeah, that kind of blues, the only kind
you can choose, because it is imposed
upon you. That white supremacy blues.
Black blues that won't cure you when
you thought you had the flu, but it was
white oppression stressing you, depressing
you, breaking you down to tears of a
clown, scratching where you don't itch,
got you fetch'in when you should have
been step'in. Ain't that a bitch?

My Blues is Black, like kinky hair and
smooth skin, the flavor of melanin.
Darker than charcoal and get twice as
Hot when ignited by the passion of desire.

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Beyond a flaming fire, torrent emotions
resonating from deep within, blacker than
my skin, like onyx.

Blue-Black that shines in the sun
when wet or dry, you can see my
blues before I arrive, like heat rising
from how black asphalt at noon my
blues will make you swoon.

Make you think you're seeing a mirage
of paradise, disguised as an unexpected
surprise, when actually it's nothing but
white lies.

My Blues is Black faces locked in places,
where razor wire and gun towers denies
escape without traces to a past of fugitive
slave laws and middle passage, where living
free could mean the death penalty.

Cast down eyes, souls repressed, despised
by lies, a living waste, where the only haste
is to die a man and be born a slave.

Yeah, my Blues is Black. Like the
assassination of Martin and Malcolm,
dreams not deferred, but denied in a
conspiracy of white pride.

Like Cointelpro acts, that trapped the B.P.P. cats,
because they were too Black, set
freedom back to another millennium.

Are ya feel'in me?

But, Yo! While my Blues is Black, it
doesn't mean it is going to stay like that. In
fact, I'm going to change my Blues into Red
and Green, and keep my Black in tact.

Like the flag that Marcus Garvey brought, to

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ensure our memories aren't caught in
psychological destruction. He wanted us to
function towards a Pan-Afrikan
reconstruction, turning our blues into Black
Gold we can use.

The Red, Black and Green has to become
more than a dream. We must make it our
living reality by working in teams,
defending the means, propagating,
educating, organizing the scheme, turning
the blues into precious Black Gold, we
standing bold, never to be sold, so the world
will behold the magnitude of our role as
revealed in divine scrolls.

Yeah, my Blues was Black, but that was
before the New Afrikan attack on
imperialism and white supremacy.
Black Gold standing bold, to restore the red,
Black and Green! Ya'll know what I mean?

Now, what color is your Blues?

FROLINAN Handbook for Revolutionary Nationalist Cadres

As we rebuild our movement for national liberation under the auspices of the Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation (FROLINAN), a revolutionary cadre organization, many of those who are discussing it will never get beyond the point of discussion. While those who are actually beginning to organize, only a minority will be around a few years from now, but for the serious revolutionary nationalist, they will succeed in forging a durable national liberation front and revolutionary cadre organization. It is extremely important that we begin this process without delusions of the task before us, that it will require much sacrifice and determination to fight for and win our national liberation.

This is because it is not at all easy to build a revolutionary cadre organization. It takes a lot of time, patience, a lot of hard work and struggle; a continuing relationship from and to the revolutionary and progressive social forces within our society; a continuing expansion and enrichment of our own revolutionary vision and that of the revolutionary social force; the ability to think independently as well as to accept discipline cheerfully; and unrelenting self-criticism struggle to overcome our own shortcomings. This work and struggle, this time and patience, this continuing relationship, this self criticism, can only come from a continuing relationship. This self criticism can only come from a continuing commitment in theory and practice to the conviction that at the heart of every great revolution is the urgent need to transform Man/Woman into a new and more advanced form of human beings by means of struggle. The only justification for a revolution is that it accelerates the evolution of man and

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womenkind, particularly that of an oppressed nation fighting for national liberation.

The first thing you need for such commitment is an unshakable conviction that correct ideas matter; and that once the correct ideas are grasped by the great masses of people, they become a material force capable of changing society and the world. In a country like the U.S. where there is so much respect for material things and so little respect for ideas, the number of people with this conviction is still very small, and the number whose convictions cannot be shaken is even smaller. When your friends and associates accuse you of having too much faith in ideas or in the "spirit of human nature" it takes a pretty strong person to hold firm. This is especially true when it comes to building our Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation towards freeing the land and establishing the Republic of New Afrika in the western hemisphere.

The foregoing will be the fundamental dialectical principles and some of the most important concrete practices of a FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization as a developing reality. If the members of a revolutionary cadre organization are not constantly striving to internalize the dialectical principles motivating their practices, the organization sinks into routinism. On the other hand, if they are not constantly striving to externalize the dialectical principles in concrete practices, the principles turn into empty rhetoric. Many of those reading/studying this handbook may vigorously disagree with what it sets forth. Others may draw from it the conclusion that a FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization is necessary if there is going to be a successful revolution in the United States. Not all those who arrive at this conclusion are ready to propagate the principles, build or join such a national liberation front. Some may be against a revolution altogether. Others may say that they agree with the ideas theoretically, but that building or joining such a revolutionary nationalist front is a job for someone with the patience and the capacity to think more grandly.

There are those who have been active and operating in an organized formation of local, regional and national significance; they have been functioning as an individual group and organization, with vanguardist ideals, unwilling to become part of a revolutionary nationalist front. Essentially, they are contributing to sectarian politics in the New Afrikan independence movement, attempting to raise their individual organization to an elitist

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position above and beyond the movement in general. They believe their contribution to the movement has established themselves as the most forward and leading trend or tendency, yet, have failed to forge a national strategy or agenda or national unity amongst the various revolutionary nationalist forces in NAIM. This kind of individualism, opportunism, liberalism perpetuates sectarianism, and must be identified, exposed, and rooted out of NAIM as it inhibits and prevents the building of a revolutionary nationalist front.

On the other hand, some revolutionary nationalist formations and activists decide that they do want to commit themselves to a collective and protracted struggle, they probably know one or two or a few other groups/formations and people who have arrived at the same point. These few revolutionary nationalist formations and people need some way to arrive at some kind of basic agreement on fundamental ideas and some knowledge of one another, thus the purpose of this handbook.

One way to do this is to form a FROLINAN revolutionary study group, in order to study previous revolutions and the specific contradictions in the United States which require resolution by revolution. The study of the theory and practice of previous revolutions is for the purpose of learning from them what is and what is not relevant to the specific contradictions of the United States [i.e., the relevance of a party and revolutionary organization] towards a national liberation front. Through study of previous revolutions, we can gain an appreciation of the way in which revolutions have advanced the evolution of humankind, and therefore, a profound conviction that [our] revolution must also advance the evolution of New Afrikan men and women towards national emancipation. At the same time, through the study of previous revolutions, it should become clearer to us that every revolution is unique, the specific product of specific energies of specific masses of people, specific organizations and specific leaders in a specific country under very specific conditions, all of which have been developed over a number of years, at a particular time, in a particular historical period, and which therefore can not possibly be repeated at another time and in another place.

This general truth is of crucial importance in seeking to determine the specific contradictions requiring resolution in the United States. The U.S. capitalist-imperialism face problems posed by economic abundance, whose population is the first people in human history to have discovered from their living

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experiences that material well-being does not necessarily bring happiness. This is especially true for the majority of New Afrikans whose existence is subject to dire impoverishment, and therefore the people who have the privilege of pioneering the great revolution of the twenty-first century.

In forming a FROLINAN revolutionary study group, the purpose, procedures, schedules and responsibilities of each member, should be clearly worked out and accepted by all the participants at the very first meeting. It is never a good idea to leave your purposes and procedures fuzzy in the hope that you will keep some people with you who might otherwise be scared off by a straightforward statement of your goals and what will be expected of every participant. Nine times out of ten, this kind of liberal attitude does not prevent the eventual breakaway of the person or persons involved; it only postpones the crisis and makes it more painful.

A FROLINAN revolutionary study group should not be organized for the sake of study alone, but for the purpose of laying the basis for a FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization, and national liberation front. Therefore, participation in the group should be restricted to those ready to do the systematic work required for such a study, including reading, leading and recording discussions, disciplined attendance at regularly scheduled meetings, criticism and self-criticism, over a period of approximately six months. During this period some members are bound to raise the question of getting involved in struggle over some burning topical issue. This will be one of the group's first test as to who, if anyone, in the group really accepts the principle that "without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary practice," and that without commitment to collective and protracted struggle, there can be no successful revolution. Anyone who is not able to refrain from involving the group in topical struggles until it has at least worked out some minimum ideological understanding of FROLINAN National Strategy and Program for Decolonization, of some structure and standards, is not likely to be much good for the protracted struggle.

One of the most difficult hurdles that a revolutionary study group has to overcome at its first meeting (and often at subsequent meetings) is the feeling among those present that there must be something wrong with them because they are so few. In a country like the U.S., where it is normal and natural to judge the value and importance of everything according to the size (the bigger the

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better), it is not easy to grasp and hold firm to the historical fact that every advance that has ever been made by humankind was started by a few people, often, to begin with, by only one individual, since every beginning can only be a beginning. Someone - it may have been a man or woman - was the first to use a piece of stone as a hatchet or hammer or ax; in other words, to take the first step in tool-making [two million] years ago, which has now led to the machine age of latches, punch presses, computers and dynamos. Similarly, someone - it may have been a man or woman - was the first to mold a pot out of mud... Elsewhere on earth, maybe another continent, or maybe only a few miles away, another man or woman at approximately the same time may have been doing the same things. But the first man or woman to take this first crude step in tool-making or pottery did not know this. Nor did he or she stop to speculate why only he or she or just a few others were taking this step.

The practice of judging a step forward in humankind's productive or political evolution by the number of people involved is a modern, western and especially Amerikkkan prejudice. When a handful of people met in 1921 to organize the Chinese Communist Party which now governs nearly one billion people, they knew, of course, that the party had to become much larger before it could lead the Chinese revolution to victory over imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. But those present did not look around at each other and ask, "Why us rather than anyone else?" They knew that anything which men and women create, any advance which humankind makes, must have a beginning and that every beginning must be made by those few individuals who chose to begin something because they feel it should be begun. Such was the case in Oakland, California, when in October 1966 Huey P. Newton and Bobby Scale started the Black Panther Party, and when March 29-31, 1968, 500 Black nationalists met in Detroit, Michigan and began the undertaking of organizing the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. Hence, before something can grow, it must first be.

In this way, not only the material studied, but the way it is studied, is itself a preparation for the revolutionary cadre organization and that of the Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation – FROLINAN. Let us begin!

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A. THE ROLE OF FROLINAN REVOLUTIONARY CADRE ORGANIZATION!

Building a revolutionary cadre organization is enormously difficult, but there is no mystery about the essential functions of such a revolutionary cadre organization. Just as the human being requires a mind to synthesize the many varied experiences which it receives through the sense, so the revolutionary social forces in a revolutionary period requires a revolutionary cadre organization of such a individual and national liberation front. (The term revolutionary cadre organization and Front will be used interchangeably so these ideas can be made applicable as they pertain to a single cadre formation or a network of cadres, and the entire Front operations comprising various organizations and groups.)

Just as the mind acts as a center for the senses giving and receiving impulses, so the national liberation front and the revolutionary cadre organization acts as a center for the revolutionary social forces. Neither can replace the other; nor can either develop without continuing interaction with the other. They are the two poles of a developing and dynamic relationship, continually enriching one another in a never ending spiral process of "from the masses to the masses."

The dialectical concept is the key to the building of a national liberation front and a revolutionary cadre organization. The first task of a revolutionary cadre organization is theoretical analysis and synthesis. That is to say, the revolutionary cadre organization must first reflect upon the specific social realities within which it is operating, with the aim of arriving at a clear conception of:

- A. How this social reality has developed historically;
- B. Of the contradictions within this reality, which are the basis for further development. The revolutionary cadre organization must then,
- C. Define which of these contradictions are the principal and major ones, requiring solutions if the revolution is to advance; and

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- D. Develop a vision of what kind of new reality will be created by the resolution of those principal or major contradictions. Finally, the revolutionary cadre organization must,
- E. Determine which sectors of the society have the greatest potential for the struggle necessary to resolve these contradictions and create this new reality.

These theoretical concepts together constitute the ideology of the organization (i.e., FROLINAN's Three Phase Theory). After deriving its ideology from reflections upon the social realities, the revolutionary cadre organization must devise concrete programs (i.e., Program for Decolonization) to go to the revolutionary social forces (masses, people) in order to mobilize them in struggles to create the new reality through the struggle of resolving major contradictions of the society. In devising and projecting these concrete programs, the revolutionary cadre organization must be concerned not only to increase the momentum of struggle and the physical power of the revolutionary social forces. It must also be concerned to bring about a transformation in these forces initiative, their critical political consciousness, their sense of collective work and responsibility towards national unity, and the structures with which they can not only bring about the collapse of the existing oppressive society, but also create a new society, by freeing the land and establishing the Republic of New Afrika in the western hemisphere.

The revolutionary cadre organization, in other words, must be concerned not only with the quantitative but also the qualitative development of the mass struggle and of the revolutionary social forces. It must take seriously the fact that all of the people within a given society, including the revolutionary social forces, are shaped by the dominant values of society of which is overwhelmingly racist. In the light of the revolutions that have taken place all over the world in the past half century, beginning with the Russian Revolution of 1917 anyone claiming to be revolutionary must be willing to look beyond the question of power to what happens after the taking of power (building the Republic of New Afrika). Hence, s/he must be concerned not only with increasing the anger and militancy of the oppressed but also their determination and

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capacity to transform themselves. Otherwise, willfully or not, s/he is only preparing them for despair and hence for the leadership of demagogues, and himself/herself is not a revolutionary, but a rebel or a demagogue.

At the same time the revolutionary cadre organization is also providing the framework within which the revolutionary members themselves can be constantly transforming themselves into more conscious, more responsible, more creative and more critical human beings... to whom the revolutionary masses can increasingly look for leadership because they can recognize in them actual, living witnesses to the possibility of creating new men and women and freeing the land establishing the Republic of New Afrika.

If the ideology of the national liberation front and the revolutionary cadre organization is sound; if its program meets the needs of the revolutionary social forces; if the revolutionary nationalist formations themselves are in a close and continuing relationship with these social forces, then the revolutionary social forces will begin to struggle around these programs.

In turn, these struggles will bring about new situations, involving new contradictions and new conflicts. This means that the revolutionary cadre organization must be continuously prepared to reevaluate its ideas of the social reality and to devise the means in which the Programs for Decolonization can be implemented to take to the revolutionary social forces.

Thus constantly deepening and enriching both their ideas and their relationship with the revolutionary social forces, the revolutionary nationalist never lose sight of their primary commitment to the revolutionary cadre organization. It is the center from which they go outward and to which they return. It produces the framework within which they can be continuously reevaluating their theory and practice and continuously transforming themselves so as to be better able to live up to the historic task for which they accepted responsibility.

B. THE AMERIKKAN POLITICAL BACK GROUND

The difficulty in understanding the role of the revolutionary cadre organization does not stem from an intrinsic mystery in this role. Rather, it stems from the lack of experience of New Afrikans

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in the political process of continuing commitment to the kind of systemic, collective, dialectical, theoretical and practical struggle which is at the heart of a revolutionary cadre organization. For historical reasons, the approach of most New Afrikans to social problems has always been a pragmatic or problem solving approach which is essentially anti-intellectual. In what has been described as the "headache syndrome," they react to and try to resolve each problem as it arises, as if each were a sporadic, isolated or accidental problem in a system which is fundamentally sound, and therefore capable of quick and easy solutions.

In the recent period, confidence in the soundness of Amerikkkan institutions has plummeted, chiefly under the impact of the revolutionary struggles throughout the world and New Afrikan revolts (i.e., L.A., Chicago, Liberty City, NYC - Crown Heights, etc.). The result is that a great many people, New Afrikan, Latino, Asian, Native American and Euro-American, no longer think of Amerikkkan problems as isolated or accidental. They have traced their roots to the "system" of "capitalism and racism" and concluded that a revolution is necessary in the U.S. They have further identified the chief revolutionary social forces to make this revolution as the New Afrikans and other nonwhite (so-called) minorities.

However, for the most part, the majority of progressive people still strongly resist the ideas of committing themselves to the kind of collective and protracted struggle in the dialectical relationship to the revolutionary social forces outlined above. They no longer look at the problems of this society in a piecemeal fashion, to be solved one by one. But they still regard the revolutionary struggle as a series of isolated events, "happenings" and "experiences." The result is that they do not have a framework within which to do the continual evaluation that is necessary, and their angry attacks on the system turn into abstractions and rhetorical denunciations. They are without national revolutionary leadership and a national strategy.

Always "on the go," attracted to whatever or whoever turns them on, they jump from one activity or group to another, judging the revolutionary content of that activity or group by its militancy or by the excitement and relief which it offers from boredom, frustration and the immediacy of national oppression, i.e., quantitatively and subjectively. In the past, as an example, Euro-American youth, rebelling against materialism and individualism of their middle-class parents, drifted in and out of communes

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and collectives. They claim to be seeking a collective life style but they were unwilling to make the long range commitment to any one group which is the prerequisite to collective struggle and collective learning. The exception would be right-wing skin heads/ aryan/nazi/klan youths groups linked to parent organizations. As a result, the collectives and communes that sprung up and disappeared all over the country were little more than aggregates of subjectivity in which each individual were still doing his or her "own thing." The same is applicable amongst the various trends and tendencies in NAIM.

These young New Afrikans are functioning from a pragmatic, anti-intellectual attitudes, a new anti-intellectual attitude which is the unique product of the post Vietnam War and civil rights struggles. Raised in a world of unceasing novelty and mobility, of revolutions in production and abundance in consumption, of instant communication and space ship transportation. They have been culturally deprived of the experience of engaging in a protracted struggle, which was the good fortune of the previous generation who were involved in the civil rights movement during the 50's and 60's, since the 80's thoroughly inverted this development. As a result, they have an existentialist and nihilist philosophy or the conviction that life consists essentially of momentary experiences, much of which is expressed in "gangster rap" and the "hip-hop" subculture.

In the 1960's, the youth's lack of experience in protracted struggle was not a serious handicap. In fact, in retrospect, it was an enormous advantage since it enabled young people to leap frog the old radical organizations with their obsolete theories and programs (still stemming from the experience of 1917 revolution in Russia) and to create instead a new and unique style of politics. This "new style of politics" centered around dramatization of confrontation politics which were then carried into every living room through television. Staging these confrontations and using the mass media with enormous skills, the civil rights movement leaders of the late 50's and early 60's New Afrikans and Euro-Americans, were able to overnight bring home to the entire society the barbarism of U.S. racism and the genocidal war in Vietnam. Radicalized by these methods, young New Afrikans exploded in the streets of practically every major city in the country, creating by the late 60's a social crisis of unprecedented magnitude within the entire society, much of which is being revisited across the country today, but without the political determination of the 60's.

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However, while the social crisis was obviously maturing, the Revolutionary Action Movement, Black Panther Party, SDS-Weather Underground Organization, and the Republic of New Afrika, as revolutionary organizations, were evolving to engage the new reality and to give direction to the emerging social forces. The U.S. government engaged these revolutionary organizations and decimated their fighting capacity via Cointelpro counterinsurgency operations. The result is that today the great majority of Amerikkans, both those who are oppressed by the system and those who support the system because of the benefits they receive from it, are completely bewildered. They feel as if they were being tossed about in the eye of a great storm with no idea where they should go or how to get there.

Likewise, in the absence of a durable militant revolutionary cadre organization, most people who played such an important role in creating the movement of the 60's have been without any framework within which they could collectively evaluate the situation, and make new projections towards national liberation. They were unable to transform themselves into more responsible, more conscious, more dedicated and more critical revolutionaries. Left to their own individual devices, the great majority of them have drifted out of the movement or have gone the way of left or right opportunism, making claims against the BLA, WUO, SLA, etc.

Arguing they had become pure adventurists, making isolated and desperate attacks on the power structure or anyone who they think supports the power structure. Other "drop out's from the struggle" have become careerists, "on the go" in one way or another, as consultants, project directors, or staff persons supported by federal, city and state agencies and by church and universities in order to co-opt the "heavies" of the movement, those who we would identify as "sell outs." While, a few others continue to work in support of political prisoners of war, and various civil and human right issues confronting the oppressed New Afrikan Nation.

What this indicates is the need for building FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization to learn the lessons of the past, to unite the various existing formations within a national strategy and push forward the struggle for national independence.

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C. COMMITMENT IS KEY

Against this background, it should be clear why the first step of any group of people seeking to build a national liberation front and a revolutionary cadre organization, must be the decision of each individual in the group to commit herself and himself to a collective, protracted struggle in a dialectical developing relationship with the revolutionary social forces, the oppressed masses. The group must contain those who are convinced of the need for revolutionary social change and who – out of sober reflection on the concrete experiences of the recent past – have become convinced that spontaneous rebellions, revolts and confrontations – no matter how many or how spectacular – lead not to revolution but to despair and confusion unless an organized group takes the lead, and is ready to make this commitment out of their own volition.

If, among those who have come together to discuss the question, only two groups or people are ready for this commitment, these two must resist the temptation to continue meeting with the others in the hope or illusion that by doing so, they will persuade the others to stop wavering and make a commitment. If they succumb to this temptation, they will discover in the end that they are left either with the same two people, or that they themselves have begun to waver, since the waverers are the ones who have behind them the pressure of the way things are, rather than of the way things should be.

The decision by a group of revolutionary nationalists, no matter how few, to commit themselves to this collective and protracted struggle to build FROLINAN and to reject “on the go” politics, shapes everything that follows. If their commitment is to become more than rhetorical “testifying,” they must now embark on the concrete steps necessary to create a collective out of their separate selves. As it is, they are still individuals, with their own very different ideas about what is and what should be, what they should do and how they should do it, what they can expect from each other now and what they should be able to expect from each other as they begin to struggle together.

In order for the group to start transforming their separate subjectivities into collectivity, they must first arrive, through organized discussion and an agreed upon method of decision making, an agreement on the following:

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1. Their ideology (the Three Phase Theory);
2. A program or programs for activity within a prescribed period, long enough for them to complete some projects, and yet short enough so that they can see the end at the beginning (the Program for Decolonization);
3. A structure within which they can carry out these programs and which will also provide for the continuing growth and developing of the group as a whole and for every member in it;
4. Standards of membership (see below);
5. Methods for continuing evaluation of their activities and themselves.

Some or all of these may be modified in the course of the FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization's continuing development. Particularly in a revolutionary period, situations change very rapidly, and the ideas of the revolutionary cadre organization must change accordingly. As situations change, different views over what should or should not be modified may at such time lead to such opposing proposals that those holding these opposing views cannot continue to co-exist in the same organization, and a split becomes unavoidable. But unless these differences have developed in relation to an original set of basic ideas, they cannot be dealt with as political differences, but will instead be interpreted as subjective or personality differences with all the bitterness that usually accompanies such interpretations (opportunism, liberalism, sectarianism). An effort must be made to overcome personal and political differences that hinders political work and building FROLINAN.

A-1: Ideology

For the last 50 years most radicals/militants in the United States have thought that it was sufficient to define the Amerikkkan historical reality in terms of Marx's 19th century analysis of European capitalism and Lenin's pre-World War I analysis of

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European imperialism, simply adding to these the analysis of Amerikkkan racism, usually interpreted either as a manifestation of capitalism or of domestic imperialism. In the past 20 years, New Left radicals have continued to define the Amerikkkan historical reality in these terms. However, in recognition of the post-Vietnam War struggles of Third World peoples inside and outside the United States and the increasingly middle-class character of the Amerikkkan workers, they have simply substituted Third World peoples for the working class which Marx and Lenin regarded as the revolutionary social force to destroy capitalism and imperialism.

Only a few of these radicals/militants, either in the past or recently, ever took seriously the fact that Marx and Lenin were both developing their theories in systematic reflection upon their specific historical reality, a totally different historical reality from what exists in the United States today. Marx was writing at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in Europe 100 years ago, and Lenin in backward Russia over 50 years ago, in periods when rapid development of the productive forces were the urgent concerns of Europeans and Russians respectively. Today the United States is the most technologically advanced country in human history, producing goods and developing the productive forces with such rapidity that every politically conscious, socially responsible person is trying to think of how to slow development down, especially technology that displaces workers. Far from being in material want, even the poorest layers of the population are constantly being courted by capitalism to buy, buy, buy; and state agencies, to some degree, subsidize these layers so their publicly financed purchasing power can keep the economy going.

Yet, instead of analyzing this new social reality with the seriousness with which Marx and Lenin analyzed theirs, most radicals/militants and those claiming to be revolutionary nationalists have simply reacted to the revolt of Third World peoples by casting them in the role which Marx and Lenin gave to the working class. Subsequently, as if vying for the leading role in the social movement, women, youth, and prisoners have begun to substitute themselves for New Afrikans workers, stratifying the struggle into levels of competitive politics and resources. Now, some radicals/militants and revolutionary nationalists, reacting to the chaos and absurdities into which this kind of rivalry to take the center stage is plunging the movement, have fallen back on

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the working class as hero, hoping against hope that spreading unemployment, inflation, taxes and other economic miseries may yet turn the working class into the revolutionary class that Marx's 19th century analysis called for.

Instead of just reacting to rebellions and to each other in sectarian and opportunist ways as these progressive organizations are doing, FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization must make its own serious analysis of the unique historical development of the United States and of the material development of struggle in their area and nationally (See: National Strategy of FROLINAN). It should then be able to recognize that the major contradiction in this country is as much an economic one, as it is a contradiction between this country's extremely advanced technological development and its extreme political and social underdevelopment, of which is generally characterized by racism and national oppression.

This contradiction is manifested in the preoccupation of its people with their own private pursuits and responsibility, competition in the job market, as well as of genuine self governing institutions that encourage the development of political consciousness and social responsibility toward the status quo, especially neo-colonial agents of the national Black bourgeoisie. It can then be seen that the chief purpose of the national liberation struggle is to accelerate the rapid growth of political consciousness and social responsibility amongst New Afrikans so that they can put politics in command of economics, instead of being ruled by economics as they are today. Hence, the Three Phase Theory puts forth an analysis that correctly determines the political reality and method by which national liberation struggle should commence.

A-2: Program

Most movement groups in NAIM are reactive, issue-oriented groups who are constantly plunging into activity around the innumerable issues, usually legal defense issues, which are constantly surfacing in this period, such as "Free All Political Prisoners of War" or "Free Geromino Pratt, Sundiata Acoli, Mumia Abu-Jamal, Sekou Odinga and Mutulu Shakur," and "Free the NY-3," to name a few. The result is that many of them disappear as rapidly as they appear. What usually continues is:

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- A. either one of the older militant organizations, or
- B. cliques of individuals, or one who is a charismatic individual or one who is particularly gifted in fund raising or
- C. social groups of alumni or veterans of various struggles of the 60s and 70s.

Few of these, if any, have ever set down to work out a program that a half dozen people could carry out over the period of a year, in order to build themselves into a viable organization with their own collective identity and specific contribution to the overall independence movement. The exceptions of course are the current trends and tendencies, who more often than not, compete with one another, rather than uniting on a national level in NAIM. By uniting they would be in a better position to continue seeking the means and method to contribute to the overall struggle to free the land. Most of the folks who claim to be revolutionaries in the U.S. can rap about the need for a planned economy, for the reorganization of the entire United States from top to bottom, and for freeing the land. But they rarely take the time to think through a PROGRAM for even a small revolutionary cadre organization, a clear conception of the PURPOSES the group is trying to achieve the METHODS by which they propose to achieve these programs, and the specific step-by-step PROCESSES. In this regard special attention should be given to the Program for Decolonization.

When a revolutionary cadre organization works out clearly such programs, it also establishes a basis for the evaluation of its programs. Thereby it does one of the most important, yet deceptively simple things that a revolutionary cadre organization can do: learn from experience or develop its theory from social practice. Nowhere more than in the U.S., is it so necessary to recognize and emphasize the importance of learning the development of theory through a continuing relationship of theory and practice. This is the only way to combat the powerful tendencies in this country toward empty rhetoric (or talk without practice), and mindless activism or reactionary militancy – such militancy that serves no more than to prove one's militancy or because it is fashionable to be militant. Rather, one should apply militant acts when one has some deeply felt convictions about the way New Afrikans can and should advance the struggle, realizing

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that these convictions can only be tested in social practice towards national independence.

Therefore, in the initial period, the main program of FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization should be internal programs. That is to say, they should be consciously aimed at transforming those who have come together on the basis of commitment into a national liberation front and collective, with a powerful sense of their developing and continuing collective identity and purpose toward national unity. The first-year programs of a revolutionary cadre organization should center chiefly around the following:

- A. The theoretical strengthening of the members (political education);
- B. The development of the literature of the national liberation front and the skills of the membership to enable them to take the ideas of FROLINAN to the New Afrikan masses (propaganda);
- C. The increase of the revolutionary cadre organization's members (recruitment);
- D. Developing principled unity and consolidation among the various trends and tendencies in the NAIM;
- E. Establish the means by which to implement the Programs for Decolonization.

The propaganda program of the organization is crucial to the development of the revolutionary struggle since as it cannot too often be repeated, once the correct ideas are grasped by the masses, they become a material force capable of changing society and the world. Particularly at this stage in the struggle, the major emphasis of the revolutionary cadre organization's propaganda must be on expanding the vision and increasing the critical political consciousness of New Afrikans, to inspire them with the broad purposes of the struggle and developing their capacity to de-mythologize and de-romanticize the U.S. colonial government. To mobilize the masses in struggle or to increase their militancy without at the same time expanding their consciousness of their

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responsibility and capacity to become “new men and women,” is only to lay the groundwork for their despair. The use of a newsletter, an official publication, and applying tactical initiatives by way of agitation-propaganda would support the propaganda program.

In mapping out the recruitment program of the revolutionary cadre organization, great care should be taken to make the process of recruitment a selective one. The aim must be towards slow and qualitative growth, and not rapid expansion, taking care not to judge the growth of the revolutionary cadre organization by the numbers of its members. Membership should be determined by their commitment to the theory, ideology and programs of the FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization. In the matter of recruitment, the revolutionary cadre organization has few models to go on. In the past it was ridiculously easy, particularly for a worker, student, or black person from the subculture, to acquire membership in the Black Panther Party or the Republic of New Afrika. They had little contact with workers, and so few workers were attracted to these organizations, the image of these organizations inhibited black worker membership.

Since the 70s and 80s, on the other hand, thousands of young New Afrikans have been attracted to new political organizations of all trends and tendencies, ready to drift into (and out of) these organizations with a lack of commitment, particularly if the mass media has given these organizations any publicity. In turn, these organizations, living for the moment and for the spotlight, have recruited furiously in order to give the impression of a large public following. In the recent past we have had some instructive experiences with organizations who have expanded rapidly for the sake of and with the help of the media. Often they have discovered that they were recruiting many reactionary political agents. Even when this was not the case, they have still been at the mercy of their new members, most of whom were attracted to the organization in the first place by the image of confrontation politics which they got from the mass media and who have therefore led the organization into confrontation after confrontation, until its entire energies and resources were exhausted in defense activities.

For all these reasons, it is important that FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organizations seek to avoid both rapid expansion and any kind of publicity. In this way, they are giving full recognition of the fact that any rapidly expanding or publicity oriented organization has no chance to do the learning and

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developing which are absolutely essential to preparation for rapid growth at a later stage of the protracted struggle.

For the same reasons, a revolutionary cadre organization must acquire its basic finances from dues paid by its members and from the strictly political activities of the revolutionary cadre organization (sales of literature, public meetings, etc.) and not from grants or funds from private or public agencies. The danger is not that these agencies will put direct pressure on or try to dilute any militant activities which the organization may want to engage in. The corruption is much more insidious, arising from the fact that external funding deprives the revolutionary cadre organization and its membership the opportunity and the responsibility to develop and test their own commitment and their own ideas.

A-3: Structure

Regular meetings at least once a week and always starting on time, the keeping of minutes at every meeting and the reading of these minutes at the subsequent meeting, and a clearly-organized agenda for each meeting, are the elementary structural requirements for a FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization. If it seems strange to emphasize what should be obvious, it is because these are not at all obvious in the “on the go” topical political atmosphere of today’s movement. They are more likely to call meetings when the spirit moves them, to disdain the keeping of minutes and to regard presentation of an agenda as incipient bureaucratization or elitism. This is often the case with the defense committees of political prisoners of war.

Through regularly scheduled meetings, each member begins to internalize the structure of the group as part of his or her own living routine. Through the promptness with which every member arrives at the meeting, the unity of everyone starting together is established. Through minutes a group takes responsibility for its programs and procedures from week to week and begins to get a concept of its own development as historical. Through a clearly organized agenda, the essentials of which should be the same from week to week, every member can prepare between meetings for his or her participation at the next meeting, thus creating a framework for the maximum participation of each member.

At the beginning of each meeting, the Chairperson is the

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one responsible for preparing the agenda. This can then be revised by the membership, who must accept the agenda in its final form before the meeting proceeds. This apparently simple situation is an example of the leadership-membership relationship which is essential to the development of a revolutionary cadre organization.

The establishment of structure within which leadership and membership can be developed is a very difficult problem inside the United States. On the one hand, there is a strong tendency in ordinary non-political working people to hold back and wait for direction from those they may consider to be more capable or experienced, i.e., to see themselves as permanent rank and file. Coupled with this is the tendency to rally around and rely upon charismatic leaders to lead them out of the wilderness of class and national oppression.

Movement people, including young New Afrikans, also tend to be caught up in this "cult of personality." But there is an even more widespread tendency among young people to regard any leadership as "elitist" and "bureaucratic" and to insist instead on what they call "participatory democracy," or the uninterrupted rule of the rank and file. Although apparently contradictory, both the "cult of personality" and the "ultra-democracy" of young people actually stem from the same existentialist, ad-hoc approach of movement people to revolutionary struggle. Constantly on the go from rally to rally, living for the psychological impact of each meeting on their feelings, they are not concerned with development of collective struggle, but rather with their own momentary feelings as individuals.

The structure of the FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization, on the other hand, is created to develop a dialectical, i.e., a developing relationship between the leaders of FROLINAN and members of the revolutionary cadre organization analogous to that between the revolutionary cadre organization and the revolutionary social forces. The important difference is that the members of the revolutionary cadre organization elect their leaders out of their own ranks, choosing those they believe to be the most capable of guiding and directing the revolutionary cadre organization, and holding them responsible for giving such guidance and direction in accord with directives and policies from the National Coordinating Council/Committee of FROLINAN.

This is one of the many ways in which the revolutionary cadre organization is constantly making creative use of the dialectical

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interplay and tension between the two opposites, Democracy and Centralism, for its own collective development. Or, to put it another way, it is precisely because collective development is so critical to the essence of the revolutionary cadre organization that it is able to make conscious and creative use of the interplay between the two opposites, Democracy and Centralism.

Most New Afrikans find it difficult to understand the principles and practices of Democratic Centralism because New Afrikans, generally speaking, proceed not from the concept of roles but from the concept of rights, privileges, and prerogatives. This concept of rights, embodied in both the U.S. Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, predisposes New Afrikans to regard any relationship between individuals and leaders as an antagonistic contradiction and to look at every situation from the viewpoint of the individual preserving his or her right from external infringement. The concepts of roles, on the other hand, involves looking at the relations in terms of the development of the collective, whether this be the revolutionary cadre organization, the New Afrikan Nation as a whole, or any institution in the social order of the colonial government. At the heart of Democratic Centralism is the ideal: "All functions must be performed by each part of the structure if the collective is to be able to act as a continuum to develop into a strong nucleus of revolutionary leadership and as a framework for the continuing development and transformation of every member."

It is necessary to have leadership within the structure of a revolutionary cadre organization because it is necessary to have some persons or a National Coordinating Council/Committee (NCC) playing the role of projecting and generalizing, unifying and coordinating. If there is no chairperson within a particular committee, or no NCC within a national network of revolutionary cadre organizations (i.e., FROLINAN), who is acting in this role as "center," then there is only the plurality, the specificity and the variety of the members in the constituency. On the other hand, if the various members and the various committees or groups of the Front are responsible for specific programs and are constantly developing their operations, increasing their contact with the revolutionary social forces, discussing issues and programs of the revolutionary cadre organization, and developing their ability to think collectively, then the unity of the revolutionary cadre organization (FROLINAN) turns into homogeneity.

Thus, Discipline and Democracy are both part of the principles

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of the daily practice of a revolutionary cadre organization not because they have been imposed or because they are guaranteed by statute, but because of the deep conviction of each member that these are both necessary to the development of the FROLINAN on local, regional, and national levels. Every member is bound by the decision of the revolutionary cadre organization because every member realizes that without discipline, everybody and anybody could go his or her own way, do his or her own thing, and FROLINAN would fall apart. On the other hand, the leadership is constantly encouraging and seeking to create situations in which there is full discussion by the membership. They know that if decisions are arrived at without the full democratic discussion and even debate of the members, the revolutionary cadre organization cannot penetrate to the issues involved in any decision or the dualities that are implicit in every unity. Leadership knows that agreement reached through a process of full discussion and debate is always more effective than agreement reached through unquestioning ascent. Leadership and membership both know that liveliness of mind must go hand in hand with Unity of Will if the revolutionary cadre organization is to develop. Structure should be the basis of flexibility, not rigidity.

Both leadership and membership in the revolutionary cadre organization are an art, in the sense that both leaders and members must learn to play creative roles in the development of their mutual relationship. There must be exact rules for the behavior of either leaders or members as there is in a scientific experiment, or in learning an athletic skill, where uniform conditions can be artificially set up and repeated again and again, and derive the same results after each test. However, experience has shown that certain procedures and attitudes can be immediately recognized as contrary to the general dialectical principles of Democratic Centralism. (Democratic centralism is an organizational principle which the minority is subordinate to the will of the majority, and the lower bodies to the higher bodies, while the entire organization is subordinate to the central coordinating committee. All members, committees, and groups of the national liberation front may discuss or constructively criticize and contribute to the development of a particular directive or policy, but once a decision has been made, all members, committees, and groups must abide by it.)

For example, the "rotating chairperson" (which is often proposed in the name of "participatory democracy"), destroys the

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possibility of leadership playing its essential role as “center.” The chairperson must hold office for a period of a time long enough so that s/he can develop the responsibilities of this role. On the other hand, a chairperson who is not constantly listening to the members of his or her committees will soon be speaking only from her or his limitations and will be unable to project to the members a unity which has the richness of variety embodied in it.

A chairperson must be not only efficient at running meetings, but she or he must also be willing to do “propaganda work” among the members of the committee individually in order to develop a common language with them. A leadership which resorts to agitation and exhortation of the membership is usually one which has failed to fulfill its responsibility of projecting programs and positions which embody the relationship between what the revolutionary cadre organization is doing from day to day and the long range role of the FROLINAN in the acceleration of the evolution of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. If the leadership does not fulfill its role of projecting, creating and innovating but is only reacting to the membership, then the tendency is for weaknesses of individual members in FROLINAN to surface, i.e., for individual members to “act up.” In this situation leadership, feeling threatened, is tempted to overact, reminding the members of their duties and of its rights, i.e., of the chain of command, and sometimes even to mobilize those members whom it considers more loyal and supportive against those who are “acting up.” But this type of administrative, disciplinary, commandist, and subjective behavior on the part of the leadership cannot possibly restore the moral authority of leadership, since by definition the role of leadership is not a defensive but a creative one.

The revolutionary cadre organization must be constantly on guard against the tendency of members on all levels to self-cultivation, i.e., the use of the FROLINAN resources only for the development of the individual groups. On the other hand, if the leadership is not playing its proper role of encouraging the independent creativity of the membership, the tendency of membership is to slip into passivity, merely receiving and supporting instructions from the leadership. As the revolutionary cadre organization then begins to stagnate, leadership again is tempted to exhort the membership to greater efforts and liveliness. But this exhortation is futile, since by definition, agitation of the members is contrary to the role of leadership.

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The revolutionary cadre organization leadership should make the development and building of the independence movement the first task of the cadre. To ensure that the revolutionary cadre organization work is responsive to the needs of the independence movement, "politics in command" must be a basic operating principle. Such revolutionary leadership must be uncompromising in building the independence movement in direct relationship to the oppressed New Afrikan masses' struggles. This also means they must guard against liberalism, opportunism, sectarianism, and revisionist manipulations in their political commitments.

1. Seek to establish FROLINAN in direct relationship with the New Afrikan masses struggles having the oppressed nation's struggles become the revolutionary cadre organization's political determination to fulfill those aspirations;
2. Place "politics in command." The political program and strategic objectives become the basis from which to secure internal discipline, prevent liberalism and opportunism from subverting the prospects of the revolutionary cadre organization establishing a practical relationship with the New Afrikan masses, and build principled and congenial relationships with other progressives and revolutionaries;
3. Seek greater unity and working relationships amongst other political groups and activists. Combat sectarianism and revisionism by other groups and activists in the struggle by seeking to establish working alliances, coalitions and the consolidation of FROLINAN amongst progressives and revolutionaries of the various nationalities and classes.

The quality of revolutionary cadre organization leadership depends on the ability to apply these three dictates and maintain every condition that serves to consolidate and push forward the independence movement across the country. The revolutionary cadre organization leadership must work to reach a specific goal acknowledgeable of FROLINAN structure, the purpose of

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FROLINAN and the criteria from which FROLINAN builds, develops and manifest its existence. This revolutionary leadership must hold a deep commitment to the concepts of truth, justice and equality. They must be a statesman in character, capable of speaking to the oppressed masses' discontent, addressing the U.S. imperialist government, the bureaucracy, and all vestiges of neo-colonialism. They must be willing to turn the oppressed New Afrikan masses' cries into words of discontent and upheaval, challenging the imperialist political rhetoric with revolutionary political perspective, analysis proposals for socioeconomic and political change. This revolutionary leadership must be an excellent administrator, being capable of strengthening, disciplining and consolidating the revolutionary cadre organization, to propagate the building of FROLINAN's Three Phase Theory and Program for Decolonization as a living part of the NAIM. In this respect, such an administrator will connect the revolutionary cadre organization with the New Afrikan oppressed masses' struggles, building toward particular goals and objectives within the class and national liberation struggle.

The revolutionary cadre organization leader who is "humanitarian in virtue," a "statesman in character" and an "administrator toward the revolutionary cadre organization" keeping politics in command, in his/her theoretical-ideological determinations of political motivations in struggle, will be most capable of fulfilling the arduous task of professional revolutionary – to make the New Afrikan independence movement.

In all these ways, through living and often painful experiences in the correct and the incorrect handling of the very demanding relationships between leadership and members, the leadership and members of FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization as a whole will begin to internalize the rhythms of the dialectical as contrasted to the administrative method. This internalization becomes decisive towards handling contradictions between the revolutionary cadre organization and the revolutionary social forces, both in the struggle for power and in the even more important and awesome responsibilities that ensue after seizing power and freeing the land.

A-4: Standards & Procedures

Every collective, whether an organization, a class, a race, or

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a nation, must establish standards, i.e., those values and patterns of behavior which all members are expected to strive to embody in their daily thinking and practice, chiefly in order to advance the collective and national unity. A FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization, on the other hand, establishes its standards not only to advance the national liberation front, but in full consciousness of the national liberation front's responsibility to advance the evolution of the New Afrikan Nation.

Starting from this fundamental premise, FROLINAN, as a revolutionary cadre organization in the United States, at this time must establish its standards in the light of two major realities:

1. the particular and contradictory character of the chief revolutionary social forces, subject to conditions of neo-colonialism, and;
2. the protracted struggle that will be necessary to bring about the revolutionary transformation of this society, securing New Afrikan independence.

These realities make it essential that the revolutionary cadre organization adopt as its standards those values which have proved to be most durable and universal in the course of humanity's millennium of development. Such values must include: love and respect for one's own people, not for their sake alone but as a springboard to love and respect other peoples; respect for ideas; dedication; dependability; discipline, self-reliance, and accountability; and care and development of one's body as well as one's mind.

Young people in the United States today, particularly New Afrikan, are potentially the chief revolutionary social force for the overthrow of the present society and securing New Afrikan independence. They are the ones most hostile to the present system and the ones with the maximum energy for fundamental social change. At the same time, these young people both New Afrikan and Euro-American (the latter especially insofar as they have become alienated from their communities and are imitating New Afrikan youth "hip-hop" subculture), are the ones most deficient and lacking in the above values. They are "now" people for the most part, standardless and valueless. Hence, their "revolutionary" energies are most likely to explode in rebellions

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and rebellious activities of the most negative kind: dropping out, copping out, freaking out, “ripping off” and other helter skelter, individualistic and adventurous actions. Rebels without a positive cause, they have no vision of what the struggle must be for and therefore no concept of the “new woman/man” who must be created through the revolutionary struggle.

Typical of their inability to put the development of the New Afrikan Nation and humanity at the center of their thinking is their endorsement and encouragement of “ripping off” each other (black on black crime), people, and merchants (as representatives of the capitalist system) – as if this could possibly leave unaffected the humanity of those doing the ripping off.

The result of these negative rebellions (gangsterism) is that large sections of the population are becoming completely alienated from the perspective of revolutionary social change, either becoming passive and despairing, or in many cases, actively counter-revolutionary. Thus, instead of increasing the revolutionary potential, these potentially revolutionary social forces are actually decreasing its potential. Most liberals, and these young rebels themselves, are reluctant to face the new reality which is being created by these negative rebellions. Instead, they excuse these rebels by saying that their attitudes and actions are “only” or “in the final analysis” the product of objective and historical conditions and therefore outside their control. They point to the abundance in a capitalist society and electronic media which have provided instant gratification of every physical and psychological want to the youth generation. They point to the barbarism of racism and the genocidal wars in various parts of the world, which have demoralized young people by exposing the dehumanized character of Amerikkkan capitalism, imperialism, and political-economic-academic power structure; and they point to the failure of the older generation over the years to resist this barbarism and inhumanity.

However, in citing objective and historical conditions as an excuse for the negative rebellions and rebelliousness of young people, these liberals and the rebels themselves are evading the crucial contemporary contradiction, which is that on the one hand, these young rebels in their rebellion are the most complete expression of a corrupt valueless society. On the other hand, they and the working class are the ones with the greatest potential to bring this system to an end. In other words, the revolutionary cadre organization cannot wait upon the revolution to change

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the objective conditions that have produced these social forces as they are. It must find ways and means, within the present, to bring about revolutionary transformation of these young people in order to make the revolution, i.e., in order to bring about changes in the objective institutions and conditions.

One of the most important ways that the revolutionary cadre organization can do this is by projecting and embodying its own ideas and practices. These values which have proved most universal and enduring throughout the development of humankind, the revolutionary cadre organization itself must insist on the indivisibility of politics and ethics.

This indivisibility of politics and ethics is indispensable to the development of the revolutionary cadre organization for the protracted struggle which lies ahead of it. Without the above standards, it is impossible for those within the revolutionary cadre organization to develop trust in one another and those whom they seek to lead. Without trust, no protracted struggle can possibly be successful.

In affirming the indivisibility of politics and ethics, the revolutionary cadre organization is breaking consciously with the political tradition which has dominated western thought since Machiavelli, 500 years ago, created the science of politics as a question of strategy and tactics. Marx did not challenge this Machiavellian concept chiefly because politics was secondary to what was happening in the process of production. Marx believed the very development of the productive forces and the struggles of the workers against exploitation were creating in the workers the highest standards of collectivity, discipline and social responsibility. For Lenin, politics was much more important than it had been for Marx, but Lenin had conceived the revolutionary party chiefly as a means to increase the hostility of the masses to the system as a whole so that they could then be mobilized in struggle to overthrow the system.

Today, however, in the United States, our historical conditions and therefore our responsibilities can not be the same as Marx and Lenin, just as was the case for Samora Machel in Mozambique, or Amilcar Cabral in Guinea Bissau. Among the revolutionary social forces with whom we are the most concerned, there is no lack of hostility and antagonism to the system as a whole. What they lack is a concept of:

A. Transformation of man/woman, which must be at

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the center of revolutionary struggle; and

- B. Of the protracted nature of our struggle for national independence.

Together these require a new concept of the indivisible relations between politics and ethics.

The Standards and Procedures on recruitment are to ensure the revolutionary cadre organization meets with maximum success in this endeavor to construct an effective and highly sophisticated organizing and fighting force capable of sustaining the forward motion in the New Afrikan independence movement. They are also designed to guard against enemy penetration and the irreparable harm which defection and betrayal engender when rooted in ignorance.

The prerequisites for becoming a member of FROLINAN are as follows:

1. Recognition of the existence of the New Afrikan Nation as an oppressed nation within the colonial government of the United States of America in the western hemisphere;
2. Recognition that the Republic of New Afrika is the name and government of the New Afrikan Nation, a government in exile, struggling for the liberation of the National Territory of Kush;
3. Acceptance of the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence Creed and Code of Umoja;
4. Recognition and support of the New Afrikan People Liberation Army (NAPLA) as the armed front of the New Afrikan Nation;
5. Support and work to manifest the National Strategy of FROLINAN as the legitimate representative of New Afrikan Independence Movements and work to support all groups in alliance to FROLINAN;
6. Must be anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist,

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anti-racist/fascist, anti-sexist, pro-national independence, willing to participate in the class and national liberation struggle for land (Kush) and social democracy;

7. Believe and have faith in the creative ingenuity, spiritual quality, and humanity of our New Afrikan people, and the historically cultural, socio-economic, and political productivity of our struggle for national independence.

STANDARDS

1. Potential members must have demonstrated (or should) an inclination to break with or shed the mentality of the slave, and bourgeois neo-colonial aspirations.
2. Potential members must have displayed a basic understanding of the need for unity in their daily dealing with others.
3. Potential members must have demonstrated a conscious love of humanity in their practice.
4. Potential members must have displayed a conscious desire to emulate the conduct and ethics of the revolutionary cadre organization known to them.
5. Potential members must have outgrown the lust for coveting of material goods.
6. Potential members must have proven record of honesty, integrity, and generosity.
7. Potential members must submit totally to guidance, rules, and policies of the revolutionary cadre organization.
8. Potential members must be prepared to serve

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and function in any capacity or geographical area designated as required of them in the revolutionary cadre organization.

9. Potential members must be made to understand that the struggle demands a total commitment, a lifestyle, transcending all social levels.
10. Potential members must be able to understand to never speak of FROLINAN internal business or affairs without prior authorization from those in a position of trust, except for that information that is for the general public.

PROCEDURES

1. All recruitment must begin with a sponsor, and that sponsor must be a member of FROLINAN.
2. A sponsor recommending an individual for possible acceptance within the ranks of the revolutionary cadre organization must provide a verbal and/or written background report on the potential member and the nature of that sponsor's past and present relations with the potential recruit.
3. Those in a position of trust are to delegate three cadre members to function as a screening committee to investigate all background information and relevant data provided on the potential recruit by all sources.
4. The screening committee is to have full latitude in the nature of its questioning of a potential recruit and the manner in which it conduct its investigation.
5. Background data is to include a personal history, schools attended, prior places of residence, arrest record, family background, and present and past

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political and organizational ties.

6. The screening committee, for all functional purposes, is not a decision body, but instead is an investigating body. Thus, at the end of its investigation, it will render to those in a position of trust, its findings and recommendations.
7. In its determination of its recommendation, the screening committee need not be unanimous in its vote; the majority rules.
8. Those in a position of trust are bound by this determination unless it can be proven to have been arrived at outside the bounds of FROLINAN's principles.
9. In those cases where the screening committee's recommendation is favorable, all investigative findings are to be forwarded by those in a position of trust to the higher authorities for final decision. If that final decision is affirmative, this information will then flow into organization structure to the revolutionary cadre responsible for the maintenance of FROLINAN's active and inactive files.
10. In the case of considering the inclusion of an organization as a front member, such decision will be the responsibility of the Central Coordinating Committee of FROLINAN.

A-5: Methods of Evaluation - Criticism & Self-Criticism

After the completion of every project, no matter how small, there must be a thorough-going evaluation of the project by the revolutionary cadre organization.

Were the purposes of the project fulfilled? Were they clearly defined and understood by everyone involved in the first place – and were they kept in mind throughout the project? Were the methods effective? Were they the best methods or the only ones

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that could have been chosen? Were schedules maintained and was every step of the process carried out? If some steps of the process were left out, was this harmful to the project or were some of them superfluous from the beginning? What were the achievements and shortcomings of the project, and what lessons can the group learn from it? What were the reasons for the breakdown or failure of the project at any point? Which of these were outside the control of the group and which might be anticipated and prepared for in the future? What were the expense and income from the group as part of the final evaluation? Was every member clear about his/her responsibilities at every stage of the project? Were the resources of the group (skills, contacts, equipment, time) adequate to the project as planned, or did the group exhibit over-confidence and impatience in the planning?

This kind of methodical evaluation is a concrete manifestation of politics in command. In other words, it stems basically from the philosophical conviction that in all relations between human beings and their environment, human beings must assume conscious responsibility for their actions. They must do this to stop the vulgar rationalization of always blaming others or outside conditions and thus seeing themselves as passive victims.

All this may seem very elementary and common sense, but it is far from being obvious either in the general overall political atmosphere of this country, or in the particular atmosphere of the movement's helter skelter, "on-the-go" politics. Amerikkka generally tends to have a technical approach to every project, to try to overpower those whom they are seeking to influence or to defeat by the sheer weight of their analysis, equipment and technology. Or they have a "new frontier" approach. If something doesn't work out so well, or things go bad, they just abandon the project, or the place, or the people involved in it, and go onto something, somewhere, or somebody else. They are always running off to a new beginning.

Because the majority of "movement" people have failed to make a serious examination of Amerikkkan history or its philosophical environment, they have carried these same attitudes into their own activities, simply adding their own special contempt for ideas. Their love of rhetoric, their predisposition to spectacular confrontations, and their hunger for continuing emotional excitement inhibits the development of a thorough analysis and a national strategy. Engaging in activities for the sake of activism, and not in order to test clear convictions in revolutionary social

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practice, they have rarely worked out clear programs with purposes, methods, schedules and processes, clearly defined, and therefore capable of careful evaluation. Hopping from one issue to the next, they have not even stayed together long enough to develop a sense of commitment to one another or to a particular constituency, which is prerequisite to the practice of evaluation. Reared in an economy of abundance, they have little or no idea of how many New Afrikan workers have to sweat for every dollar, that over half of all New Afrikans live at or below the poverty line.

Hence, we can judge a political organization by the seriousness with which the organization handles the question of socio-economics and finances. When one realizes how deeply ingrained these helter skelter attitudes and practices are in the objective environment and historical tradition of revolutionary social practice, one realizes how futile it is to depend on rebukes and reprimands to correct them. Rather, through understanding the historical and philosophical roots of these practices, the revolutionary cadre organization can arrive at a firm appreciation of why, by contrast, it must build itself step by step on completely different philosophical foundations, based essentially on the dialectical method of development through collective and protracted struggle.

The theoretical acceptance of this dialectical method, however, by no means guarantees that the attitudes and practices so deeply rooted in the history of NAIM will immediately disappear. To uproot and correct these attitudes and practices on a continuing basis, the revolutionary cadre organization must include a place for constructive criticism and self-criticism on the agenda of every meeting.

The concept of constructive criticism/self-criticism has become a popular phrase in the "movement" when it was integrated into the practices of the Black Panther Party, as a result of the BPP adopting this concept from Mao Tse Tung principles as applied in the protracted struggles leading to the victory of the Chinese Communists. It continues to play a role in the building of a new society in China and in revolutionary struggles elsewhere in Asia, Afrika, and Latin America. Conversely, when the revolutionary movements all over the world were dominated by the D-Day concept of revolution (which had been borrowed mechanically from the example of the 1917 Russian Revolution), criticism used to take the form chiefly of post-mortem analysis. For example,

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one group or individual would insist that a particular setback in revolutionary development in a particular country was the result of a mistaken policy and therefore of the group or individual sponsoring the policy. Simultaneously, the claim would then be made that if those in charge had pursued the policy of the critic instead, then there would have been success rather than failure. This kind of arrogant subjectivism and hypothetical after thinking is completely foreign to the concept and practice of revolutionary constructive criticism and self-criticism.

Revolutionary constructive criticism and self-criticism is based, first and foremost on the dialectical concept of development through collective and protracted struggle. It involves the clear recognition that in every situation there is a contradiction which requires a choice between two roads. It involves the recognition that no one is immune from making a mistake or wrong choices, but that the entire group, the individual making the mistake, and indeed everyone concerned with the revolutionary struggle, can learn from the mistakes and wrong choices that have been made by the individual or the group. Moreover, the recognition, the examination, and correction of mistakes and weaknesses all provide additional energy for the advancement and acceleration of revolutionary struggle. This is the dialectical concept of the "dynamic of error."

In order for this "dynamic of error" to develop, the group must be united by certain common principles and ideas. All the members must be committed to common perspectives or a common ideology. They must share common standards, they must be committed in time, and they must share a fundamental recognition of the role that struggle itself plays in developing people and social order. Without these common principles, constructive criticism/self-criticism cannot rise above subjectivity and get to the essence of what is wrong in any particular situation, i.e., the objectivity of the mistake. Essential to the concept of objectivity is the recognition that a mistake is not just an accidental one, i.e., that it is not unique to the particular individual or to the particular occasion. On the contrary, it probably relates to the particular historical environment or to the social background of the individual involved, e.g., bourgeois cultural nationalism and intellectualism, technocratism, male chauvinism and sexism, sectarianism, elitism or permanent rank-and-file-ism. This objectivism enables the entire group to raise its consciousness and helps others with the same background to be on the alert against

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these specific weaknesses.

On all levels of the social and political environment it is very difficult to make this kind of objective constructive criticism/self-criticism a real part of daily life and social practice. This again is for the very deep historical reasons already referred to, especially the tendency of New Afrikans to look upon problems as nuisances and headaches, to be gotten rid of by some external means (i.e., alcohol, drugs, pills) rather than as challenges from which one can learn. Therefore, the tendency is to cover up mistakes rather than to admit or grapple with them.

New Afrikans are also very preoccupied with their own personalities or individualities and incline to develop guilt feelings about their own mistakes. For example, an individual may apologize for making a mistake because s/he feels guilty, thinking that s/he is criticizing himself or herself when s/he is really just expressing subjective or personal feelings. Often what is put forward as self-criticism is simply self-protection against further examination of the mistake by others.

Subjectivity and liberalism assumes many different forms, e.g., the protection of one's feelings or those of others; fear of hurting feelings or discouraging people by pointing out their mistakes; attacking those who hurt your feelings by criticism; fear of taking issues with others; and not pointing out the person who makes a mistake or not pointing out mistakes at once, but waiting until the persons involved are less emotionally caught up in their mistakes and then revealing the mistake to absolve them from responsibility.

It is extremely important to not allow one's personal feelings to interfere with the quality of work and commitment essential in maintaining a durable revolutionary cadre organization. Subjectivity and liberalism erode the quality of work and principled relationships amongst revolutionary cadre members.

Embracing Chairman Mao's concepts on combating liberalism as adopted by the former Black Panther Party, FROLINAN must stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization in the interest of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Every revolutionary should take up this weapon. Liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude, and bringing about political degeneration in certain cadres and individuals in FROLINAN and the revolutionary

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organization. Liberalism manifests itself in various ways:

1. To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship, when a person has clearly gone wrong, and to refrain from principled argument because s/he is an old acquaintance, a fellow "homie" (towns person), a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate – or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, to keep on good terms. The result is both the organization and the individual are harmed.
2. To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people to their faces, but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for principles of the collective life, but to follow one's own inclination.
3. To let things drift as if they do not affect one personally. To say as little as possible, while knowing perfectly well what is wrong. To be worldly wise and play it safe, and speak only to avoid blame.
4. Not to obey orders, but to give pride of place to one's own opinions, to demand special consideration from the organization and reject its discipline.
5. To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal spite or seek revenge instead of entering into an argument and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress, or getting work done properly.
6. To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary views or remarks without reporting them, and instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened.

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7. To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries amongst them, and instead to be indifferent to them, and show no concern for their well being, forgetting that one is a revolutionary and behaving as if one were ignorant of the principles and concepts of being a revolutionary.
8. To see someone harming the interests of the New Afrikan masses and not feel indignant, or dissuade or stop him/her, or reason with him/her, but to allow him/her to continue.
9. To work half heartedly without a definite plan or direction; to work perfunctorily and muddle along, believing that "so long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell."
10. To regard oneself as having rendered great services to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignment, while being unequal to major tasks, to be slipshod in work and slack in study.
11. To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude towards oneself.

More could be named, but these eleven are the principle types. They are all manifestations of liberalism. Liberalism is extremely harmful in a revolutionary cadre organization. It is a corrosive which eats away unity, undermines cohesion, causes apathy and creates dissension. It robs FROLINAN of compact organization and strict discipline, prevents policies from being carried through, and alienates the revolutionary cadre organization from the New Afrikan masses. Liberalism stems from petty bourgeois selfishness, it places personal interest first and the interest of the New Afrikan independence movement second, and this gives rise to ideological, political, and organizational liberalism. Liberalism is a manifestation of opportunism and conflicts fundamentally with

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dialectical historical materialism and revolutionary principles.

CONDUCT

Rules of conduct are merely guidelines to disciplined conduct of every member of the revolutionary cadre organization. Discipline is very necessary if our objective is to be achieved. If revolutionary nationalists followed and adhered to strict self-discipline, rules would not be necessary. But to be disciplined to a certain concept, one must know what is required, i.e., rules for principled action. These rules should not conflict with chosen lifestyle, that of being a revolutionary, for revolutionary nationalists have chosen a course whereby if their conduct conflicts with these rules, they could not possibly be working in accord with the philosophy of revolutionary nationalism, or be carrying out the work of national liberation. Therefore, to safeguard and advance FROLINAN, each member of the revolutionary cadre organization is responsible to him/her self and the national liberation front for maintaining and following the rules of conduct:

1. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization is a potential leader and must at all times work toward obtaining those qualities that will make him/her the best and most efficient leader, learning when, where, and how to take the initiative.
2. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization must develop and maintain consistent study habits of the political and socio-economic area (any and all publications available: books, newspapers, and magazines that will help to give social consciousness), and all materials dealing with the science of struggle and the enemy.
3. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization must be selfless, sharing and providing assistance to comrades in the need of basic necessities and outside contacts if at all

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possible. Commendation and recognition is to be given for selfless acts. Taking undue advantage of comrades or New Afrikan people must be disciplined.

4. Physical fitness is a must. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization must maintain an exercise program. Group practice is desirable and if possible, should be systematic and punctual for cohesive effect.
5. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization is to refrain from cursing, unnecessary loud talking, screaming, bragging, and boisterous behavior as much as possible.
6. Discussions of pertinent value are desired. There can be no discussion between antagonists; therefore discussions of this nature are discouraged unless it is for the purpose of enhancing one's ability to destroy the enemy.
7. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization is to fear constructive criticism. Constructive criticism is the critical view or remark(s) backed by evaluation, knowledge, investigation, propriety, and concern.
8. Among members of the revolutionary cadre organization, there shall be no egoism, vanity, intentional dishonesty, intemperance, and intolerance. We recognize that there are people with different religious, racial, and political views, but members of FROLINAN will always seek to persuade others to the correctness of the revolutionary cadre organization's objectives.
9. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization will diligently struggle to attain the goals, objectives, and general policies to their fullest capacities. They will always be mindful of the quality and quantity of their service,

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dedication and determination, and to always be willing to do what is required to bring an end to injustice, racism, terrorism and national oppression.

10. Any member of the revolutionary cadre organization in violation of rules must be disciplined according to the violation, and no punishment is to exceed the offense.
11. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization must make an effort to teach non-members suffering from a lack of self-confidence and/or fear of the national oppressor and its neo-colonial agents, to over-come these obstacles. "Educate to liberate" is the motto for this purpose. To lead through the success of one's practice, leadership must be decisive; without sacrifice or participation in revolutionary activity, there is no leadership.
12. Each revolutionary cadre may establish additional rules in its environment to enhance the harmony in their area, keeping in mind nature of human behavior. such as, maintain respect of female comrades, and the personal relationship between comrades.
13. No rule supersedes tactical purpose, and to facilitate specific plans by design, may be broken.

A-6: Organizational Development

In a revolutionary period like this, when large sections of the population have lost faith in existing institutions, the prevailing tendency in NAIM is diffusion. This is the organizational tendency to form all kinds of groups. Some groups spring together as a result of spontaneous eruption or in order to make the struggle over a particular burning issue more effective. Others are formed chiefly in order to give individuals a sense of belonging to some

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collective because they have lost faith in the US government. Others exist for no other reason than that the power structure needs them as channels of communication to the potentially rebellious sections of the society, i.e. agent provocateurs.

Because of this general self-structuring by the masses which is going on all the time, and because this self structuring gathers momentum in a revolutionary period, FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization's relations are basically not with single individuals and never with abstract general masses. Instead they are usually with particular groups of various kinds which can range from political to recreational to ethnic to economic. Usually most of these groups are going in their own separate directions which may be parallel or diverging, but rarely converge. However, again because of the revolutionary character of the period, there are many reasons these groups should or could converge to go in a particular direction together, rather than conflict on a particular issue. Usually a particularly raw issue is enough to bring them into conflict, although sometimes a counter-revolutionary or revolutionary group may, for reasons of its own, seek to bring about a clash and cause a split. On the other hand it is unlikely that the many groups which have within them the potential for united action in a revolutionary direction will work for any extended period of time without being under the open or quiet leadership of FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization.

Therefore, the more rapidly various sectors of the population are in the process of self organization, the more important is the role played by FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization. In anticipation of this increasing momentum toward self organization as the crisis deepens, it is never too early in a revolutionary period for the revolutionary cadre organization to begin the painstaking task of organizing. In fact, all previous history (including that of the U.S. in the 60s) shows that once the dam of public confidence in existing institutions begins to break, the diffusion tendencies in the population far exceed the revolutionary cadre organization's ability to provide leadership. In anticipation of this development, it is important that the revolutionary cadre organization forges the means and method to develop alliances, coalitions, and the national liberation front.

Relations between the FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization and other organizations fall into several distinct categories:

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1. The revolutionary cadre organization and/or its individual members can simply join with other organizations in an alliance or coalition as a representative of FROLINAN. This usually happens over a single, limited, momentarily very popular mass issue, usually a defense issue. In this kind of united action, the alliance or coalition usually disappears as rapidly as it appeared, i.e., it is a sporadic or episodic unity that usually does not require the leadership of the revolutionary cadre organization.
2. The revolutionary cadre organization and/or its individual members can take the initiative of bringing together a number of various organizations into a united front [FROLINAN] to carry on an extended struggle for positive goals, e.g., the community control of schools in a particular district and eventually over a much wider area. In this case, because the united front has extended resources, membership, and geographical perspective, the revolutionary cadre organization must undertake to build the united front [FROLINAN]. It is only after it has conducted careful advanced propagandistic preparation of a political constituency and has carefully trained revolutionaries who will be able to influence members of united front [FROLINAN], that they keep the struggle from disintegrating, without assuming actual leadership positions.
3. Individual members of the revolutionary cadre organization can be assigned to join one or more of these organizations, not to take over the leadership, but to influence them in a revolutionary direction. To struggle with them in combating liberalism, opportunism, and sectarian practices (particularly if they are not playing a progressive role in the general movement) they persuade groups to join in a principled way the revolutionary cadre organization practices under

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the auspices of FROLINAN.

4. Individual members can sometimes be assigned to help form a group for a particular purpose, e.g., for revolutionary study or to act as a revolutionary current within the general movement of NAIM. In all these relations, FROLINAN revolutionary cadre members are always conscious of their interpenetrating role, i.e., "from the masses to the masses." They are using their contact with these groups to get a better idea of the stage of development of the social forces as well as to influence the direction of the social forces. In this interpenetrating dialectical relationship, they never lose sight of their primary commitment to the revolutionary cadre organization and the protracted struggle of NAIM, no matter how pressing may be a particular issue or how desperately a particular community or organization may want to turn over to the revolutionary cadre members the main responsibility for leading that particular community or organization.

In the course of building the New Afrikan Independence Movement, the revolutionary cadre organization must employ certain tactical initiatives to develop the movement. The most necessary tactical initiative must be thorough use of agitation propaganda. The use of agitation propaganda is essential in raising the political consciousness of New Afrikans, to arouse their hatred of monopoly capitalism and imperialism, and to enhance their willingness to engage and confront the U.S. colonial government in struggle. Agitation propaganda is the basic means by which a revolutionary class consciousness is forged in every level of the class and national liberation struggle. Because the New Afrikan independence movement is protracted in nature, agitation propaganda must develop from simple slogans, leafletting, and literature toward large rallies, marches, and demonstrations. It must develop into a cultural foundation of the revolution. Such an approach evolves from a means to agitate New Afrikans and propagate the NAIM, to the historical transition of the movement establishing the criteria to sustain itself, forging a living culture

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of struggle in securing the inevitable victory of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Thus, agitation propaganda in totality is the education of New Afrikans in revolution, and the mobilization of New Afrikans to confront capitalism/imperialism in the course of building the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

By employing such tactical initiatives as agitation propaganda, the revolutionary cadre organization is responsible for establishing the Program for Decolonization, such as food co-ops, tenant strike groups, community patrol systems, free health clinics, day care centers, community liberation schools and so on. These Programs for Decolonization are organized by the revolutionary cadre organization and are jointly led with representatives of the community. The construction of these Programs for Decolonization, led by community representatives, ties both the New Afrikan masses and the representatives of the New Afrikan independence movement together, and ensures that the political program of the revolutionary cadre organization will be thoroughly supported by the New Afrikan masses' participation in the revolutionary independence movement.

These Programs for Decolonization are the arteries of the revolutionary cadre organization [FROLINAN], establishing a life-giving system to build the revolutionary independence movement in the heart of the New Afrikan community. They are essentially part of the defensive mechanism of the independence movement, the survival apparatuses that ensure the needs of the New Afrikan masses are met as part of the revolutionary independence process. Eventually these Programs for Decolonization will develop into a network of community service organizations whose primary concept in class consciousness and being a part of the New Afrikan independence movement is to establish alternative social services which the enemy colonial government is not adequately providing. All of this is the expansion and entrenchment of the revolutionary cadre organization in the New Afrikan community, complemented by establishing collectives in rural areas, and develop communes in township and farm areas.

The revolutionary cadre organization must have the various Programs for Decolonization in support of the New Afrikan Independence Movement thoroughly entrenched in the hearts of both urban and rural communities, establishing the national strategy and political program of FROLINAN. This is termed the "Social Development of the New Afrikan Independence Movement," when the revolution becomes a social movement,

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culturally – inspired and politically – determined toward liberation of the national territory of Kush.

CODE OF ETHICS:

The purpose of this Code of Ethics is:

1. To develop a clear line of the revolutionary cadre organization expectations;
2. To develop a clear line of organizational and political precepts for FROLINAN cadre members to adhere to;
3. To develop clear and just methods of revolutionary cadre organizational discipline, and to facilitate the enforcement of FROLINAN policies and rules;
4. To combat and eradicate unprogressive patterns and attitudes among members of FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization;
5. To develop ideological and political cohesion within NAIM;
6. To bring the people and the revolutionary cadre organization to a closer and more harmonious relationship in unity and struggle toward freeing the land.

The success of this Code of Ethics rests with each and every participant in the New Afrikan independence movement. If the independence movement is to move forward, correct its mistakes, and fortify the revolutionary cadre organization, then it is essential all revolutionary nationalists carry out their revolutionary duties at all times, and seek to promote FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization.

1. Under no condition will there be any fighting between members of the revolutionary cadre

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organization and FROLINAN.

2. All members of the revolutionary cadre organization will show respect to all New Afrikans in word and actions.
3. All members of the revolutionary cadre organization should attempt to be polite and courteous to all people, regardless of race, creed or color.
4. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will place any material commodity above or before FROLINAN, the people, or the New Afrikan Independence Movement.
5. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will display or have an arrogant, disdainful, belittling or chauvinistic attitude.
6. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization is permitted to use, produce, distribute, process, fund, or take part in the sale of heroin, cocaine (in any form), LSD, or PCP. Nor will they take any type of pill for the purpose of getting high (uppers or downers) and no member of FROLINAN will distribute such pills or take part in the sale of such pills or other illegal drugs.
7. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will engage in the sale of marijuana, or the funding or solicitation of marijuana operations.
8. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will ever appear in public intoxicated or under the influence of marijuana, alcohol, or any other illegal drug.
9. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization shall lie about his/her position

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within the revolutionary cadre organization to another member, nor shall any member divulge his/her position (or the position of another) to a non-member.

- 10.No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will reveal FROLINAN secrets to anyone.
- 11.No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will use the influence or reputation of FROLINAN for his/her personal interest.
- 12.All cadre leaders are to set up decolonization programs and/or classes in political and physical education, first aid, weaponry, and other topics such as nutrition and horticulture which will enable New Afrikans to better survive, and to be able to contribute to the survival of the revolutionary cadre organization.
- 13.All members of the revolutionary cadre organization are expected to take part in the established decolonization programs and classes.
- 14.All cadre leaders will see to it that all members of the revolutionary cadre organization know and are taught how to defend themselves, and how to fire, break down, and clean firearms.
- 15.All members of the revolutionary cadre organization will carry out orders given to them by their cadre leader or staff member.
- 16.All members of the revolutionary cadre organization are potential leaders and are expected to take the initiative and develop themselves to the utmost, so as to be capable of taking the initiative and providing leadership whenever it is needed.
- 17.All members of the revolutionary cadre

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organization will read FROLINAN's Handbook, and put to memory the code of ethics, rules of conduct, ways to combat liberalism, and points of attention as part of their everyday lives.

18. When a cadre leader is not available, members will vote and appoint one, on the merit of knowledge, experience, dedication, and courage.
19. All cadre leaders are to make available an avenue through which members can air grievances. There must exist a conscientious effort on the part of the cadre leader to resolve these grievances in a humane, patient, and sensitive manner.
20. Cadre leaders are to send dispositions of all grievances to the coordinating council or committee for review.
21. All members of the revolutionary cadre organization who are imprisoned will report immediately upon release to a designated cadre leader or other instructed location.
22. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will take part in any type of gambling or betting or lotteries.
23. All members of the revolutionary cadre organization will participate in national elections pertaining to the development of FROLINAN and the government of the Republic of New Afrika.

Points of Attention:

- A. Speak politely.
- B. Pay fairly for what you buy.
- C. Pay for what you damage.
- D. Do not hit or swear at New Afrikans or other oppressed people.

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- E. Do not damage the property of the poor oppressed masses.
- F. Do not take liberties with women or men.
- G. Exert the maximum efforts to eliminate drinking, marijuana, drug, and tobacco products.
- H. Practice nutritional diets, fasting, and eating less.
- I. Learn to make bread from scratch, and how to preserve and can foods.
- J. Learn to grow and raise crops and produce.
- K. Decrease the time in which you watch TV; increase study time.
- L. Uphold organizational discipline. Tell people no lies; claim no easy victories.
- N. Listen to New Afrikan and other oppressed people to know and meet their needs.
- O. Show compassion and understanding to the oppressed New Afrikan masses who have suffered from the womb to the tomb.
- P. Try passionately and relentlessly to educate the oppressed New Afrikan masses and to learn from them.
- Q. Exercise your mind and body each day.
- R. Always set a good example for others to follow, adhering to the principles of FROLINAN.
- S. Popularize and act in accordance with the slogan, *If you will do nothing for liberation, then do nothing against liberation* – always applying theory and practice to break the chains of national oppression.

The rules, standards and procedures, methods of combating liberalism, code of ethics, and points of attention must be internalized, for they are vital to the development of revolutionary consciousness amongst New Afrikan revolutionary nationalists, and to setting the proper example for the New Afrikan Nation.

It is hereby offered to the New Afrikan Independence Movement, FROLINAN's Handbook for Revolutionary Nationalist Cadres, in hopes that all revolutionary nationalists will establish study groups and study the National Strategy of FROLINAN. We hope that revolutionary nationalists will begin the necessary dialogue to bring into existence the national liberation front, applying the principles and concepts here

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elucidated, toward freeing the land and establishing the Republic of New Afrika.

"Theory and Practice to Break the Chains of National Oppression"

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The National and International Struggle Toward a New Global Revolutionary Pan-Afrikan Strategy

We are fighting for a society without racism and exploitation, but many don't know what type of government and social system that would entail. This may appear to be a contradictory statement, but I am of the opinion if people aren't clear on this point, they won't know where they need to expend their energies. It is essential that revolutionaries distribute materials and propagate information that gives understanding and direction as to what is the ultimate goal of the revolution. Revolutionaries must take responsibility to manifest what they propagate into reality, serving the needs of the people. Conversely, if people do not decide to take responsibility for the type of society they want to live in, then they shouldn't complain about their oppression. To be a revolutionary means having a political commitment and taking responsibility for that commitment.

In regard to Afrikan self-determination, nationhood, and independence in the United States, it must be understood the United States is a settler nation. The historical evolution of this country is based on the colonization and domination of Native Americans, Afrikans, Mexicans/Puerto Ricans and Asians by European settlers. These European settlers' success in the colonialization process has made the United States the most powerful nation in the world. Yet, internal socio-economic conflicts persist, subject to how the United States came into existence. The resolution of these contradictions/conflicts may result in the dissolution of the United States as we now know it, similar to what happened in the USSR. Therefore it is posited that separation/independence may

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be the method to resolve this contradiction. This is a particularly viable approach, if domestic colonized peoples in the U.S. want to establish their sovereignty, and not whether they have a right to do so. Upon making a decision, the struggle to manifest an independence movement inevitably changes the socio-economic and political dimensions of this country. It affects the historical determinative, as well as the moral/spiritual foundation by which this nation is founded. The fight for national liberation by domestic colonized peoples compels this country to be responsible to those it has colonized. It forces the country to consider its history, how its people live in relationship to the means of production, and how wealth in the country is ultimately distributed.

Since the U.S. is again active on the continent of Afrika, Afrikans in the U.S. should be concerned as to how this effects them domestically. It must be posited that U.S. action should cause the OAU to become more responsive to the needs of Afrikan people. To resolve the overall conflict in Somalia and other areas in Afrika, the OAU should seek the means and methods to establish a Somalian government, and ensure democratic reformation elsewhere on the continent. Unfortunately, not until Afrika evolves an intra-continental representative military force, will Afrika be able to establish itself as a serious member of global affairs. What has been done in an attempt to resolve the internecine struggle in Liberia offers possibilities as to what needs to be developed throughout the Afrikan continent.

Ultimately this concerns the problem of combatting international capitalism. In the Marxist concept of socio-economic development, and people's relations to the means and mode of production, there exists a major contradiction between two social groups. Those groups are identified as the bourgeoisie, the owners and controllers of the means of production, and the proletariat, the workers and laborers who produce wealth for the bourgeoisie. These class antagonisms are directly centered on the distribution of the wealth produced by the proletariat. Presently, the bourgeois class has evolved into an international body of global strategists, who continue to appropriate wealth from the international body of proletarians.

In the last fifteen years, particularly during the Carter, Reagan and Bush presidencies, the international body of global strategists, representing the interests of the bourgeois class, have consolidated monopolist capital hegemony. This consolidation has evolved with the advent of the G-7, NATO, IMF, the World Bank, and U.S.

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dominant influence in the United Nations. This includes other non-governmental organizations (NGO) such as the Trilateral Commission, Bilderberg Committee, and similar supranational bodies. By virtue of these international organizations linked and united through a network of corporate entities, there has been a rise toward a new international order.

With the dissolution of communist USSR, which originally gave birth to the communist international, the proletariat class has been stripped, globally, of international representation. Although such organizations as the International Labor Organization and other U.N. labor forums exists, they have been co-opted by the international bourgeoisie.

It is then possible to comprehend the development of international relationships on the basis of economic determinatives, and understand how these determinatives develop in both national and international fields. Within the proletariat class, leftists continue to oppose monopoly capitalist rule, but are in disarray and lack a center of gravity for leadership, originally held by the Communist Party of the USSR. Currently, revolutionary groups as the Red Brigade, Action Directe, and the Red Army Faction are engaged in discussions concerning the future of their movements in light of the unification of Germany, dissolution of the USSR, and the Maastricht Treaty. They are concerned about the consolidation of the capitalist bourgeoisie new international order, and U.S. imperialism. The European leftists are struggling amongst themselves, seeking the means to reestablish a political force to combat the international bourgeoisie, and organize a new proletarian internationalism.

In the United States, the capitalist bourgeoisie, with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), has forged an economic united front among the U.S., Canada, and Mexico. The working class in the United States, particularly the industrial unions, are concerned NAFTA will translate into the loss of jobs for American workers. The U.S. corporate leaders' interest in NAFTA is continued profits for the owners (stock) of the companies involved in NAFTA. Although on the surface it appears NAFTA and the Maastricht Treaty are two separate socio-economic and political developments, in reality the architects of these economic and political stratagems are the representatives of the new international order.

Part of the contradiction in this international development is between developed nations and underdeveloped nations. With the

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consolidation of the developed nations in an international market economy system, these developed nations compete amongst each other for market dominance. This includes competing for influence and control of resources and labor in underdeveloped nations, while underdeveloped nations struggle to maintain economic and political interdependence in the proliferation of the international market economy system. This competition between developed nations has the potential to render the new international order null and void, or to create a hegemonic global balance of power that will divide the world into two permanent camps. The developed nations could either engage in economic warfare, as seen with trade disagreements between France and the U.S., and between the U.S. and Japan, and/or a continuation of global economic division between the North and the South. The internal contradiction within the body politics of the international bourgeoisie and capitalist imperialism, offers hope for the international proletariat and underdeveloped nations.

Essentially, the hope of the international proletariat and underdeveloped nations is that the new international order fractionalizes. If the new international order were to fracture into competing market economy systems, it would allow developing nations the opportunity to negotiate the means and method of their development within the broader international economic arena and political context. This would allow the working class and their representatives to influence their government on what will better serve their interests. The splitting of global hegemonic corporate entities and their representative government control of international affairs, allows for lesser, weaker, and underdeveloped nation-states to compete within the fissures of international divisions.

As an example of this North/South conflict, Dr. Mohammad Ibn Chambras, Deputy Secretary for Foreign Affairs and leader of the Ghana Delegation to the Forty Seventh Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, stated

In its annual report, Development Cooperation 1991, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has confirmed, though indirectly, the fears of the international community that the pre-occupation with developments in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union would aggravate the

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marginalization of Africa. According to the OECD, not only did aid from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to sub-Saharan Africa almost fell to zero; aid disbursement to the same area from other countries remained stagnant. In contrast, the OEDC estimated that pledges from its members in November 1991, to Eastern Europe amounted to US \$45 billion as compared with its annual official commitments to Africa of about US \$34 billion. Furthermore, at their meeting in Munich in July this year, the Group of Seven industrialized countries endorsed a US \$24 billion package of financial assistance to the Russian Federation alone. It is little wonder, then that the World Bank, in its report entitled African External Finance in the 1990's foresees, for a sub-Saharan Africa, a financial shortfall ranging between US \$7 billion by 1995. It is against this discouraging backdrop that my Government supports not only the call for the write-off of debts by official creditors and commercial banks as well as by multilateral institutions, but also the convening of the proposed international conference on the financing of development which assumes a new urgency in the face of these facts

Undoubtedly, the conflict between North and South within the development of the new international order must be resolved by convening an international multilateral conference giving consideration to the economic disparity between developed and underdeveloped nations. Conversely, it is asserted that in the prospects of strengthening the new international order, the capitalist bourgeoisie must be prepared to lower their profit margins and expectations for long term expansion. (Subsequently, the working class of developed nation-states suffers a lower standard of living, higher taxes, high unemployment, and chronic stagnation.) In essence, the new international order hegemony is predicated on assisting underdeveloped nation-states to become competitive. Internationally, it must forge greater uniformity toward economic and political development in underdeveloped nation-states. In this way, these market economy systems'

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competition will be less antagonistic, and international trade will evolve toward equitable supply and demand determinatives. In this way, surplus value of goods and labor/services will be subjected to international planning and global market investments. Multinational corporations would function as government institutions, either in place of or in direct political and economic formation, planning, formulating and developing the global socio-economic and political goals and aspirations of the world's peoples. This in essence is the heart and spirit of the new international order, where global hegemony is not based on individual nation-states' accumulation of capital, i.e., capitalist – imperialism, but rather One World Order – Government.

Based upon this analysis, the heart and spirit of the new international order is the advent of one world-government. It must be appraised that such an idea is not foreign to those building the new international order. With the construction of the G-7, Trilateral Commission, NATO, IMF, the World Bank, the World Court and the United Nations (to name the most prominent institutions reflecting this idea), the new international order has in place the essential institutions to move the world to one world government. What inhibits this development is the above-mentioned inequitable economic conditions between various nation-states (North/South), the internal ideological and economic contradictions between the bourgeoisie and proletariat (class divisions), and the internal economic competition and conflict within the body politics of the capitalist market-economy systems' nation-states.

But with the growing dependence upon and influence of the United Nations to resolve international conflicts, and the growing use of the IMF and the World Bank to control and distribute wealth internationally under the dictates of the G-7, the aforementioned contradictions are made less antagonistic to accommodate and ensure the manifestation of a one-world government.

The principle obstacle confronting this transition is the existence of divergent belief systems (religions) and political ideologies/philosophies. Purportedly, these "thought" obstacles will not prevent a one-world government, but will simply slow its manifestation as the supreme global authority. For example, the Islamic revolution and fundamentalist movements are in direct opposition to U.S. imperialism. The Islamic nation-state and subsequent Islamic fundamentalist movements are not opposed to one world government. These Islamic movements are fighting to establish politico-religious, socio-economic and

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socio-cultural institutions and government that reflects the Islamic ideology of a one-world government. Of course, this contradiction underlies G-7 complicity in the U.S. bombing of Libya and Iraq, its failure to support Muslims in Bosnia, the U.S. neo-colonial relationships with Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Egypt, and U.S. collusion with Zionist Israel with the resulting detriment to the Palestinian people. Thus, the Islamic world view underscores the contradiction between Islamic nation-states and market economy systems exemplified by capitalist-imperialism.

Hence, it is hypothesized the new international order must create a new "religion" that is universal in quality, embracing the concept of one world government within the holistic belief of one world religion (The Coming of the Messiah and Mahdi). These insights may offer revolutionaries engaged in these struggles an understanding of how best to respond to international capitalism. For instance, in Lenin's "Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism," in Chapter V – "The Division of the World Among Capitalist Combines," he presents:

Monopolist capitalist combines—cartels, syndicates, trusts – divide among themselves, first of all, the whole internal market of a country, and impose their control, more or less completely, upon the industry of that country. But under capitalism the home market is inevitably bound up with the foreign market. Capitalism long ago created a world market. As the export of capital increased, and as the foreign and colonial relations, the "spheres of influence" of the big monopolist combines, expanded, things tended "naturally" towards an international agreement among these combines and towards the formation of international cartels.

Obviously, these international cartels have co-opted and now control their governments, and these governments (i.e., G-7) operate as agents of international capital. Regarding this international development of capital, Lenin further presented in respects to imperialism how these international cartels would operate:

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Since we are speaking of colonial policy in the period of capitalist imperialism, it must be observed that finance capital and its corresponding foreign policy, which reduces itself to the struggle of the Great Powers for the economic and political division of the world, give rise to a number of transitional forms of national dependence. The division of the world into two principle groups – of colony owning countries on the one hand and colonies on the other – is not the only typical feature of this period; there is also a variety of forms of dependence; countries which, formally, are politically independent, but which are, in fact, enmeshed in the new of financial and diplomatic dependence. We have already referred to one form of dependence – the semi-colony.

Such is the case with many Afrikan and Latin American nation-states, whose economies are indebted to the IMF and World Bank, which are allegedly controlled in corporate partnership by the G-7. In Chapter VII, "Imperialism as a Special State of Capitalism," Lenin explains the five essential features of the development of capitalist-imperialism. He then establishes:

Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the domination of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the partition of all the territories of the globe among the great capitalist powers has been completed.

To further understand this development, revolutionaries should review and rethink how the new international order has evolved. What has been presented offers particular possibilities of the future development of the new international order – One World Government.

Since the struggle confronting revolutionaries on many fronts is the development and evolution of One World Government, we must learn how to make this a revolutionary development.

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Naturally, the development of a revolutionary international Pan-Afrikanism depends on our understanding of the development of the capitalist imperialism, and the new international order. Our ability to combat capitalist imperialism is subject to our ability to organize a new anti-imperialist, pro-socialist revolutionary Pan-Afrikanist movement. The course of rebuilding a revolutionary Pan-Afrikanist movement will be based on our capacity to organize popular mass movements for social democracy and control of the means and mode of production. This organizing of the proletariat must be based on raising their political understanding of both the nature of international capitalism/imperialism and how market economy systems are controlled globally by a few monopoly-capitalists and their representative governments.

For instance, under the misleadership of monopoly-capitalists in the United States, over 5 million people are homeless, 37 million have no health insurance, 30 million are illiterate, 30 million more are functionally illiterate, over 1 million are incarcerated, and 60 million live in poverty and are struggling day to day. By contrast, a tiny fraction of the population controls enormous wealth. The median net worth of the top 1% of households in the U.S. is 22 times greater than the median net worth of the remaining 99% of households. The median net financial assets of the top 1% of households is 237 times greater than the median net financial assets of 99% of the population. That 1% owns 99% of outstanding stock shares.

The wealth of the richest 5% of the population increased by 37.7% from 1977 to 1988; the wealth of the richest 1% increased by 74.2%. At the same time, the number of people in poverty increased by one-third.

One-half of all Afrikan people born in the United States live in poverty. That is a 69% increase over the last 25 years. One out of two children born to Afrikan parents in America is born into poverty, and one of every three seniors lives in poverty. The life expectancy for Black men in Harlem, New York is less than that for men in Bangladesh. While this country incarcerates more of its citizens than any other industrialized nation, the U.S. imprisons Black men at a rate four times more than apartheid South Afrika, and nine times more than Euro-Americans. Black people are only 12.5% of the American populace, yet comprise 47% of the nation's prison population, while another 30% of the prison population is comprised of Latinos and other people of color. Also, it must be noted 6% of all incarcerated females are Black, Latina, Asian and

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Native American women.

Based on the foregoing, it is believed the future depends upon Pan-Afrikan revolutionaries' ability to educate and organize the working class of their relationship to international monopoly-capitalism. It is necessary to introduce and propose how their control of the means and mode of production will better serve their lives and the future of their children.

Ultimately, the struggle is a matter of the proletarians' relationship to the means and mode of production. It is a matter of how will revolutionaries wrestle the wealth of the world from the control of international capitalists, and put it in the control of the international proletariat. The redistribution of the world's wealth is the ideal of the revolution internationally, and fundamental to this development is having the working class understand their relationship to the means and mode of production. Within this (r)evolutionary process is the struggle to understand the dynamics of a revolutionary nationalism, cultural imperialism, and revolutionary democracy as opposed to plutocracy and bourgeois democracy, and building revolutionary Pan-Afrikan communalism in opposition to capitalism-imperialism.

The challenge that confronts Afrika, Europe, and Latin American at this historical juncture is one of expansion and consolidation of social democracy. It is essential that on these three continents an intracontinental revolutionary front is developed that will establish a continental-wide political agenda and platform. The revolutionary political agenda and platform must evolve from the mutually recognized and common problems confronting the majority of Afrikans, Europeans, and Latin Americans, i.e., capitalist exploitation, neo-colonialism, and imperialist hegemony.

Revolutionaries generally agree on the nature of their peoples' oppression and adequately identify the enemies of the oppressed. Often revolutionaries find themselves confronting and combatting different aspects of oppression, in accord with the given reality of people's suffering at the time. Yet, it is always important for the most developed revolutionary groups to be in the vanguard, providing leadership to the less developed. This leadership includes political analysis and direction, as well as action that serves to expose and broaden the contradictions between the international capitalist bourgeois class and the international proletariat. In many ways, this is done by combatting opportunism, liberalism, revisionism, and continuously presenting

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unyielding revolutionary Pan-Afrikanist political positions.

Pan-Afrikan revolutionary politics must be inclusive, rather than exclusive. Although Pan-Afrikan revolutionary politics delve into the philosophical and theoretical dialectics of struggle, they must guard against speaking to the oppressed and disenfranchised from a position of elitism, rather than in the people's own language. They should at all times provide leadership that serves the immediate needs of the poor and oppressed. The level of mistrust that people in general have toward leftists is due in part to the failure of leftists to embrace the demands of the oppressed. The Pan-Afrikan revolutionaries cannot impose its ideas and demands of government on the people; it is the responsibility of the Pan-Afrikan revolutionaries to give credibility to the demands of the people, and in this way empower the people.

This is a lesson revolutionaries need to relearn in terms of the working formula developed by the former Black Panther Party. The strength of the BPP was its ability to speak to the need of the people, as the people in the various communities identified them. The BPP was then able to develop programs that relieves some of the conditions of disenfranchisement and impoverishment the people suffered. By doing so, the people rallied to the Party and began to accept the Party line as their own. Naturally, differentiation must be made between the mass line of the revolutionary organization and the party line of the revolutionary organization. This fundamental lesson must be implemented by Pan-Afrikan revolutionaries, where there is the need to exist, to build popular mass movement for social democracy.

In the United States, and particularly in respects to the New Afrikan Independence Movement, NAFTA must be held in juxtaposition to the need of free enterprise zones to be developed in impoverished communities. This socio-economic and political objective should at minimum evolve a mass line toward the redistribution of wealth, reparations, social-democratic opposition to domestic neo-colonialism, the forging of Pan-Afrikanism for the purpose of establishing dual citizenship in the independence movement. In the same regards, support of political prisoners of war is an essential political objective that serves to validate the militant determination of the struggle. It gives credence to a segment of the oppressed nation-community that has valiantly fought against racism and national oppression. The mass line must confront the neo-colonialist Black bourgeoisie and their development of black capitalism. This is particularly important

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subject to the recent development of pseudo Pan-Afrikanism by members of the Black bourgeoisie.

The mass line in Europe should include the general socio-economic and political determinative of the Maastricht Treaty, and the specific issues addressing each territory in the European field of battle. Meanwhile, in Afrika and Latin America a mass line of intracontinental proportion should be developed toward combatting imperialist hegemony, neo-colonialism, the relieving of foreign debt, and the imbalance of economic dependency between the North and South.

Once the mass line has been identified, agreed upon, and ratified by revolutionaries (vanguard elements) throughout the Americas, Europe, and Afrika, each revolutionary party, alliance, coalition, or front will be responsible for supporting the mass line.

This support of the mass line will be on the basis of how each territory applies its Party line, particularly in terms of its position towards popular struggles, mass mobilizations and armed struggle. It is essential that we keep in mind that people do not fight for ideas and philosophical polemics. They fight for food, shelter, clothing, and jobs, and in the course of fighting for these basic necessities, Pan-Afrikan revolutionaries must educate them as to how their lives are controlled by capitalist-imperialism. Upon gaining this understanding, the oppressed and disenfranchised are more willing to struggle for control of the means of production and support socialist revolution.

Hence, there is the need to push forward the objectives of mass line organizing that will ultimately develop popular democratic struggles for social democracy and national liberation. It is when the popular struggles for social democracy and national liberation have been forged that the armed struggle evolves to its highest degree of combat. That is when popular mass mobilization and armed struggle will be able to take the offensive, demanding control of the means of production. Until such time, Pan-Afrikan revolutionaries must continue to prepare on two levels: building popular social organizations and revolutionary mass line formations; and struggling to unify a Pan-Afrikan revolutionary vanguard of international significance in support of the Pan-Afrikan revolutionaries capacity to engage in armed struggle.

As in Europe and Afrika, in the United States various revolutionary New Afrikan formations are involved in serious debate and dialogue for the development of a national liberation

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front. It is anticipated in the process of organizing towards the national liberation front, these formations will continue to educate and organize the working class against petty bourgeoisie criminals and the capitalist bourgeois class, and that they will continue to build support for revolutionary political prisoners of war, and link these struggles with mass movements against capitalist-imperialism. Furthermore, Pan-Afrikan revolutionaries must continue to develop each of their struggles so that they evolve alliances, and extend unity in revolutionary struggles in opposition to the new world order.

The future of Pan-Afrikan revolutionary struggle, its growth and development, and its victories and defeats rests on the revolutionary resolve to continue the battles, to develop a growing understanding of national liberation struggles and revolutionary internationalism, and especially to learn lessons that will win the minds and undaunted commitment of the next generation of Pan-Afrikan revolutionaries.

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Sentencing Statement

May 12, 1975

Originally there were five men charged in this case. Two Puerto Rican defendants were dismissed for lack of evidence by the judge before jury deliberations.

THE CLERK: Mr. Anthony Bottom, do you wish to address the Court at this time?

DEF. BOTTOM: Yes. I have been relatively silent throughout this charade here. Now I have an opportunity to address the people out there who have brought themselves into this court to give us the spirit of freedom loving people in respects to what we have laid down our lives, our ideals, our whole being to all of this.

So, anyway, the question has been asked by Tanenbaum (prosecuting attorney), and the question has been asked what are we about, you know, how come we don't tell or speak on what it is that we are about.

It has been asked why are we here, why we've been charged, convicted and to be sentenced on this charge of murder? And our answer to these questions is that we are here because we are Muslims and revolutionaries of who, because of our political activity, have become a threat to the existing order of racist capitalist oppression.

We are here because we three Black men and our two Boriqueno comrades who've suffered and struggled along side us have stood up and said, "There won't be no more." Idling, sitting by, or verbally criticizing the wanton police murder and brutalities of our people, our brothers and sisters and children.

We've said no more to the death-dealing dope being pushed in our communities. We've said no more to rat and roach infested and broken down indecent buildings our people are forced to live in. We've said no more to disparity in the educational system our

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children are forced to attend. We've said no more to wage slavery, the racist disparity of employment and lack of employment Black and Third World People struggle to obtain and/or maintain. We are here because we say no more to institutionalized racism, economic deprivation, and social degradation. We've said no more to hunger and poverty.

We state we are here because of the Hoover-Nixon criminal conspiracy, in their fascist search of the "Black Messiah," we are here because of our intentions and revolutionary duty to expose and widen the contradiction of the oppressed people and their capitalist class enemy.

We are here because we advocate the equal distribution of the wealth in this country, as we and history witness the blatant mishandling of the American people's taxes and wealth of the country by the 1% of 10% of the country's population, leading us into another depression and/or war.

We are here because we militantly advocate the end of man's exploitation by man and the taking of industries, manufacturers,...

(The following page 138 of the official sentencing transcript was found missing. The statement continues on page 139.)

...liberation. We will prevent the government's continuous attempts of committing us to genocides, slave plantations, to the 1945 San Francisco Charter to today – we have fought against the U.S. Government's intentions of wiping out Black people in this country. But today, we recognize your pig policies, such as your birth control programs of family planning, abortions and sterilizations. The policy of the so-called Drug Rehabilitation Programs, feeding our people the sterilizing product of Methadone, while still flooding our communities with death-producing heroin. Sending our sons and brothers to foreign wars of profit at an early age, and preventing our youngest quality education. Thus preventing them from ever obtaining significant employment, providing sufficiently for the family. And now these welfare cuts, and this ridiculous attempt of the government to turn the Black community into a territory of bounty hunting by threatening welfare mothers with expulsion from welfare rolls if they don't turn in the fathers of their children for a \$20 reward. It's ironic that the government institutes or tries to institute such a program when knowingly Black people, or let's say, the man, it's hard to obtain

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employment out there. It's paradoxical, because if the man stays with the family, the woman cannot gain welfare, and he's not able to get a job and it just doesn't add up.

Behind all of this, the State's vicious so-called law and order and war on crime, the fascist strategy and tactics for racist police to patrol and occupy our Black and Third World communities. These low-life degenerate agents of the State who, from sun up to sun up, with sheer hateful contempt, murder, brutalize and jail our young and old. They continue to murder and brutalize our people while in prison, as we have witnessed the Attica massacre, the assassination of Comrade George Jackson, and the countless others who were either hanged, beaten, burned, or gassed to death in cells in prison concentration camps across fascist America.

All that we speak of here is the truth, for it's the truth that makes our war of liberation a just and mighty struggle. Yes, war of liberation. We say "war" because of the violent opposition to the Black movement of civil and human rights have been subjected to in the past. We and history have witnessed the violence of the State as we have seen our leaders and spokesmen brutally murdered time and time again; assassinated as they stood next to swimming pools, assassinated as they addressed our people, assassinated in their sleep, assassinated in maximum security wings in prisons, and executed as they stood in ranks of unity in prison yards.

We and history have witnessed police early morning, mid afternoon and midnight armed raids of our people's community based political organizations. We and history have witnessed our courageous brothers and sisters and families being hunted down, captured, framed and railroaded into prisons, or harassed, hunted and hounded into exile.

We and history have witnessed our comrades hunted and executed on turnpikes, as was the case of Zayd Malik Shakur, or in bars, as was in the case of Chango Olugbala Shakur and Kimu, and in the middle of the street, as was the case of Tyman Myers.

The Black movement that was for civil and human rights was met with the demented violence of the State, in acts of belligerent conspiracies and war-like conduct.

We say "Liberation" because of the historical socio-economic disparity our people have suffered, as we and history witness. Today, the gross unemployment of 22%, and starvation in Black and Third World people communities in this country who have never, absolutely never, had an equal share or opportunity to have equal share of the country's wealth, nor even in respects

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to employment or education. To just indicate, South Boston and racist attacks on school children condoned by the President.

Today we see Black and Third World people herded into particular parts of the cities across the country commonly known and referred to as ghettos and slums, a type of containment and control colonization instituted by the State in the deliberate act of socio-economic disparity for the continued exploitation of ex-slaves for today's wage slavery.

Yes, we say "Liberation," for now our Black Liberation Movement is a movement towards self determination and for our people to become masters of our own destiny, to be in complete control of our communities, of the education system, of the State agencies and bureaucracy, and most of all, control of the occupying force in the community, the police.

In a much more scrutinizing perspective our struggle is one for land, the basis of all human existence. But our immediate priority is the control and protection of the territory we now reside, the political socio-economic liberation of the ghetto and slums and the complete withdrawal of racist, fascist armed police occupation from our communities.

According to the history of Black/Third World people in this country, we have always been subjected to violence or the threat of violence when seeking justice, equality, and human rights. As in the words of Comrade Rap Brown, "Violence is as American as cherry pie."

Over the recent years, death brought by the hands of the police has escalated proportionately, and so the guns of the police have and must be met by the guns of the people.

While theirs are racist acts of fascism, the people's revolutionary forces are acts of self defense and revolutionary justice.

We do not wish to use the gun, but assuredly it seems we must pick up the gun to drive those who seek to destroy us and our political organizations from our communities, thus ridding the gun. You must keep in mind it was the revolutionary and progressive elements of this country who condemned the vicious and cruel war of Indochina and told the U.S. government of their inevitable defeat by the armed might of our courageous comrades of Vietnam and Cambodia.

It was the revolutionary and progressive elements in this country who warned America of the criminal intentions and activities, long before Watergate, of Richard Nixon and his

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reactionary cohorts.

And we boldly and audaciously state that this Black and Third World revolutionary armed force will no longer tolerate indecent housing, unemployment, hunger, police murder and brutalities, and all the social ills wrought on us for the protection and profit of the class capitalist and hierarchy of this country.

So, today, we again charge the industrialist corporations such as Shell, Esso, Standard Oil, United Fruits, ITT, Polaroid, Sylvania, Ford, General Motors, U.S. Steel, along with the Duponts, Hughs, Mellons, Hearst, and the Ford-Rockefeller-Kissinger reactionary clique and the Pentagon of 1st degree murder for making war of profit in Indochina; of kidnapping taking Vietnamese orphans and victims away from their now liberated homeland.; of robbery and embezzlement for the exploitation of rape of Latin America's natural resources and people; and, we charge these same scums of the earth of aiding and abetting, acting in concert in murder and robbery in the Middle East and South Africa by encouraging and supporting Zionist aggression and racist domination and oppression.

Also, these same parasites are to be charged with the criminal and inhumane activity in the borders of North America, charges of breaking all treaties made with the Native American Indians, for 1st degree murder of Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, Mark Clark, Jonathan and George Jackson, the Attica 43, and the millions of Black/Third World people who died by the fascist hands of the State's police bureaucracy, FBI, CIA, and racist individuals who adhere to the vulgar bastardized rhetoric of law and order, which actually means racist superiority and capitalist domination. And they are also charged with robbery and grand theft of the American population for a sham oil crises, the character assassination of the Arab Moslem world, and for the inhumane rape and capitalist exploitation of all Black/Third World workers of this country.

We say to you not only must Black/Third World people and poor, oppressed people of North America must be free of capitalist exploitation, must be free of racist domination, must be free from fascist repression, and all political prisoners and prisoners of war, the San Quentin 6, Ruchell A. Magee, Assata Shakur, Lolita Lebron, Marilyn Buck, Martin Sostre, the Attica brothers, the brothers and sisters of Wounded Knee, Camron Bishop, Louis X Dupree of the Black Muslims, Rap Brown, and all captured members and supporters of the Black Liberation Army must be

Sentencing Statement • May 12, 1975

freed of captivity and exonerated of all charges or racist fascist America will be levelled in a revolutionary armed struggle of the might and fury of a patientless people who will no longer tolerate the lies and deception of this imperialist country.

My comrades and myself have been brought to this courtroom, as we have been every day, coming and going throughout this judicial railroad, this farce called American justice, handcuffed, chained and shackled. We have been brought here today to be sentenced to what amounts to life in prison, and we smile because our hearts are full of the revolutionary spirit of the freedom loving people this world over, because we know and understand as in the inspiring words of our beloved fallen comrade Fred Hampton, "You can jail a freedom fighter, but you can't jail freedom, and you can kill a revolutionary, but you can't kill the revolution."

Undoubtedly, by our commitment to a cause that will render the salvation and liberation of our people from the oppressive yoke of racist capitalist domination and exploitation; a cause of truth, equality, and revolutionary justice; a cause of humanity and freedom, we are sure to win. For the only thing we are guilty of is being human in an inhumane society.

So, I say by the Will of Allah and the might of the people, victory will surely be ours.

All Power To Those Who Dare To Dismember The Beast.

Scream Black

Why must I scream to be heard?

Ellison claims I am an *Invisible Man*, not to be seen in centers of power, allowing recognition of tokens as a coin of exchange to represent my personal and political selves. Wilderson claims I am *Incognegro*, to be seen and not heard, towing the line of assimilation and cultural annihilation even in my rebelliousness.

Ergo, my words must become like bombs in a vest strapped on my aged aching consciousness to blow away the alleged eccentricity of my existence? The blackness of my vocabulary must refuse to hide your racism, an inconceivable miscarriage ill-form abortion of humanity.

No longer capable or willing to whisper, rather charge genocides from atop mounting graves of those who came before me – Nat, Marcus, Muhammad, Malcolm, Medger, Martin, and finally in full circle, Newton in self-defense. Spewing molten volcanic ash of revolutionary ideas, casting pregnant black clouds of notions, castigating institutionalized white supremacy, bursting antacid rain and drenching my descendants, inoculating them from your emasculating dehumanization.

Why must I scream to be heard?

To call for Black men to stop gagging and choking on their silence, to spit from the pit of their sour stomachs, to together end the slow death of internecine urban fratricide and genocidal incarceration screaming for liberation and reparations.

You need not atone, you need only to explode, reclaiming your souls. Then, all else will come easy!

Remember: ***We Are Our Own Liberators!***

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The Criminalization of Poverty in Capitalist America

The Poor, Welfare and Prisons

An anonymous poet in the 1700s wrote about crime: "The law will punish a man or woman who steals the goose from the hillside, but lets the greater robber who steals the hillside from the goose." 1

When talking about "the greater robber" it seemed particularly appropriate in the midst of the biggest financial rip-off in the history of this country to think about the billions of dollars the Savings & Loans criminals stole (followed by Enron), and about how most of them got away with it. I thought about how the complete insanity of this country defines crimes in society. If you steal \$5 you're a thief, but if you steal \$5 million – you're a financier.

In 1994, thirty percent of this country's wealth was in the control of one-half of one percent of the people. Eighty percent of the wealth is controlled by ten percent of the people. I think that is a crime. In the dictionary, the word "crime" means "an act that breaks a law that has been made for public good." "Crime in one country," the dictionary continues, "may be entirely overlooked by the law in another country or may not apply at all in a different historical period."

That was interesting. What that really said was concepts of "crime" are not eternal. The very nature of crime is socio-psychological and defined by time and place, by those who have the power to make definitions and by those who write dictionaries, so to speak.

The more I thought about that and about those who write the laws, or at least define what law is, the more profound it became. I believe we all will agree that the United States is a nation of criminals. From its inception as a settler nation, exiled British criminals stole the land and lives from Native Americans and Afrikans. They justified their actions with making and

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defining the law of the land, for example, defining Afrikans as 3/5 of a man during slavery. Hence, the power to define is an awesome power. It is the power of propaganda. It is the ability to manipulate our ideas, to limit our agenda, to mold how we see, and to shape what we look at. For example, in 2007, Congress passed into law HR 1955, a bill that makes domestic ideological terrorism a crime, essentially a thought crime. It is the power to interpret the picture we see when we look at the world for the American people in general, and New Afrikans, in particular. It is the power to place the picture we see when look at the world. It is the power to place the frame around the picture, to define where it begins and ends. It is, in fact, the power to define where our vision begins and ends, in essence, the power to create our collective consciousness.

That kind of social propaganda is not only tremendously powerful, but it is also mostly invisible. We can't fight what we don't see. Most people accept the images and definitions that we have been taught as true, neutral, self-evident, and for always; the power to paint the future, to define what is right and wrong, what is lawful and what is criminal, is really the power to win the battle for our minds. It is the power to virtually win it without ever having to fight it. Simply said, it is hard to fight an enemy who has an outpost in our minds. This indicates the need for revolutionary nationalists to develop a national agitation-propaganda mechanism. Specifically, revolutionary nationalists need a single national publication and organ that represents the unified development of NAIM (New Afrikan Independence Movement) to which each formation and organization contributes and supports its distribution. In this technological age, it is extremely important that revolutionary nationalists utilize the internet and websites as a media-communication arm of the NAIM.

The Social Dynamics of Crime

Though some may question, as did Marx, the system's fairness in applying its rules, today most people don't question the basis of the system itself. That is, people don't question the relationship between those who own and those who don't. Though many people vote every four years on who governs, they never vote on and rarely question *what* governs. People don't challenge the legitimacy of the system; they accept it, as for example the

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last U.S. Supreme Court *selection* of George Bush as President after he clearly lost the popular vote. The exception, of course, is when the oppressed rebel in insurrections, generally as a result of police brutality and murder of members of the community. But usually we do not step outside of the frame around the picture. We don't disconnect the dots and seek to build a mass and popular movement.

Emile Durkheim argued that crime is "normal" and necessary social behavior. According to Durkheim, "the inevitability of crime is linked to the differences (heterogeneity) within a society. Since people are so different from one another and employ such a variety of methods and forms of behavior to meet their needs, it is not surprising that some will resort to criminality. Thus as long as human differences exist, crime is inevitable and one of the fundamental conditions of social life."²

In this regard, the conservative view echoes this sentiment in as much as they seek to establish a genetic trait that explains criminal behavior. They argue, "If liberals have trouble with the idea that people's genes influence their chances of committing crimes, conservatives have trouble with the idea that poverty causes crime. Conservatives do not deny that the poor commit more crimes than the rich. But instead of assuming that poverty and crime have a common cause, namely the deficient character or misguided values of the poor..." (Jenks, p.11) Concomitantly, the neo-liberals are essentially giving credence to the conservative's position as it pertains to the "underclass." For instance, sociologist William J. Wilson purports, "The liberal perspectives on the ghetto underclass has become less persuasive and convincing in public discourse principally because many of those who represent traditional liberal views on social issues have been reluctant to discuss openly or, in some instances, even to acknowledge the sharp increase in social pathologies in ghetto communities." (Wilson, p.6). Needless to say, such ideas as genetic traits being the cause of crime set a dangerous precedent that must be vigorously opposed. Trying to discern the social pathologies of the underclass harbors views that purport the wholesale contamination of entire communities. However, if one were to advocate that criminal behavior, especially of the poor, is either caused by genetic traits, and/or born of social pathologies, then indisputably, it must be espoused that much of America suffers from these same causes.

In the March 12, 1993, issue of the *Wall Street Journal*

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an article entitled “Common Criminals – Just About Everyone Violates Some Laws, Even Model Citizens,” by Stephen J. Adler and Wade Lambert, stated:

We are a nation of lawbreakers. We exaggerate tax-deductible expenses, lie to customs officials, bet on card games and sports events, disregard jury notices, drive while intoxicated – and hire illegal child-care workers.

The last of these was recently the crime of the moment, and Janet Reno wouldn't have been in the position to be confirmed unanimously as attorney general yesterday if Zoe Baird had obeyed the much-flouted immigration and tax laws. But the crime of the moment could have been something else, and the next time probably will be.

This is because nearly all people violate some laws, and many people run afoul of dozens without ever being considered, or considering themselves, criminals.

When we look at downtown urban centers, when we look at the lines of humanity waiting for food or a bed at the missions; if we look at the faces of people living in cardboard boxes on the streets of the cities, we must know that a crime has been committed. When we look at the faces of the dispossessed people, we see faces that look like people who lived in California when it was part of Mexico. In Miami, we see faces of people whose great-great grandparents were abducted and brought here from Afrika.

In America, in the 1900s, as was the case in England in the 1800s, it is a crime to be poor. The poorer you are, the more criminal you are. If you are so poor that you have no place to live, and you live on the pavement or sleep in a car or in a park, you have committed a crime. It's against the law to sleep on the streets or in a park. If we have no home, it's against the law to sleep anywhere except in a prison cell.

Walter I. Trattner, in “From Poor Law to Welfare State:

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a History of Social Welfare in America,” makes the following observation in opposition to government policies that sought “to dismantle all benefit programs for working-age people except perhaps for unemployment insurance” (p. 335):

Indeed, others argued that structural changes in the economy and the erosion in anti-poverty programs were the causes of the problem, and that a strengthening, not dismantling, of the welfare state was essential in order to solve it. Such was the theme of Michael Harrington’s *The New American Poverty* (1984), a depressing sequel pronouncement, “The poor are still there.” They are poor, however, said Harrington, not because of any personal shortcomings or decisions on their part, but because of changes in the international economy, especially the “de-industrialization” of America, and the way in which they have been treated, or mistreated here at home. They are the uprooted and the homeless, products of de-industrialization, cuts in welfare programs, shortages in low-rent housing, and other social and economic forces over which they have no control; undocumented aliens who have become the new sweatshop laborers; unemployed blue-collar workers victimized by the disappearance of steady and relatively well-paying manufacturing jobs in the “smokestack industries” as result of technological advances and global competition; white-color workers who lost their jobs due to reorganization schemes in the name of efficiency, plant closings, or moves to new locations in the so-called Sunbelt; hopeless, uneducated, and untrained young blacks unable to get and hold jobs; families headed by poor, unmarried women; uprooted farmers and farm laborers hurt by the elimination of

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the subsistence farm and the agricultural depression; and millions of others in unskilled unsteady (and often part-time), low-wage, dead-end benefitless jobs in the service sector of the economy – cooks in fast food restaurants, dishwashers and chambermaids in hotels and motels, janitors and cleaning women in schools, hospitals, nursing homes, and the like. Harrington and others demand that the government spend billions of dollars on social programs to meet the needs of these “rejects” of society. (p. 336)

When the government fails to be responsible to its citizens and ignores the social dynamics of poverty, generally people are forced to seek illegitimate means to eke out an existence. Such governmental failures are tantamount to deliberate neglect that borne into existence issues of national oppression, whereby, the imperialist government maintains exploitative relationships with New Afrikans, Native Americans, Chicanos and Asians. Hence, many of these “rejects” of society are caught in a vicious web of the criminal justice system. But the real criminals are those who create the socio-economic conditions that perpetuate impoverishment. The real criminal is the neo-colonial government itself. It then becomes necessary to assess the pathology of the capitalist and social policy makers that make crime big business, and deflect culpability of their criminal behavior.

Crime is Big Business

The political decisions of the bankers are decisions about who will be poor. Corporate decisions made in the late '50s to remove industry from communities of color were about who would be unemployed. Decisions by developers and bankers about redevelopment (redlining and gentrification) are decisions about who will be homeless. These decisions affect everyone, but people have no say in the matter. Generally, people, especially the poor, have no say in most social and economic decisions that affect their lives. Somehow that is not a part of the democratic method of government, and because people have no say in the

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process, creating homelessness is not criminal, but being homeless is. Runaway plants and plant closures are legal, but vagrancy is a crime. Trattner, says:

Meanwhile the plight of the nation's hungry and homeless worsened. In November, 1984, in a pastoral letter on "Catholic Social Thinking and the U.S. Economy," American Roman catholic bishops had called poverty in America a "social and moral scandal that must not be ignored," and stated that "works of charity cannot and should not have to substitute for humane public policy.... A little more than a year later, the Physicians Task Force on Hunger in America reported on a two-year nationwide study it had conducted and concluded that, despite fifty-eight continuous months of economic expansion, hunger was more widespread and serious than at any time in the fifteen years (affecting some twenty million Americans), largely, in its words, because of "governmental failure"... (p. 337-8)

Hunger and homeless are deliberately imposed socio-economic conditions that ultimately disenfranchised large numbers of the American population. This is especially significant when consideration is given to the method and means by which malfecance of the *powers that be* operate to ensure that such conditions stay the same. Thus, such pathology ensures the rich get richer, while the poor get prison and early death.

Max Weber has argued that society is structured to function in a specific way to ensure its existence, that the social structure is subject to the mechanics of government, and governing is all-important above and beyond the immediate needs of people. Weber held that

"social stratification depends on the distribution of three resources: wealth (economic resources), power (political resources), and prestige (social resources). Thus, in this society wealthy business owners often gain power by contributing to

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political campaigns and earn prestige by making large donations to charity or to the arts. In other cases, however, the three are not linked. For example, in this society an individual acquires less prestige (in most circles) than someone who acquires comparable wealth by legitimate means. Artists, the clergy, and others may enjoy prestige but not wealth. On occasion people with few economic resources and little social prestige – bureaucrats, for instance – exercise is multidimensional, the formation of groups depends on which interests of identities people choose to emphasize. In capitalist societies, for example, ethnic and national identifications have proved more important than economic or class identification.”³

We are able to determine the social and racial implications of certain classes, then, having a vested interest in crime. It can be argued that because an elite class of criminals is in charge (the power elite), they commit capital crimes, crimes against society and humanity. The jails are overflowing, but that does not seem to help – because the real criminals are not in jail. They are in the boardrooms and in the White House. They are the social policy makers in Congress and the U.S. Senate that run this country. Like today, they are increasing social repression by building more prisons, creating harsher legal sanctions (i.e. 52 death penalty laws, three strikes you’re out), and becoming ever more heedless to the social implications of poverty as an impetus to committing crime.

Under their misleadership, in 2007 over seven million people were homeless, 39 million had no health insurance, 33 million were illiterate, 31 million more were functionally illiterate, over two million were incarcerated, and 65 million lived in poverty and were struggling day to day. But in contrast, a tiny fraction of the population controls enormous wealth. The median net worth of the top 1% of households is 25 times greater than the median net worth of the remaining 99% of outstanding stocks and shares. The wealth of the richest 5% of the population increased by 40% from 1985 to 2005, while wealth of the richest 1% increased by 80%. At the same time, the number of people in poverty increased by one-third.

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In this case crime does pay. The U.S. Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Statistics announced on July 15, 1990, that the federal, state and local government spent \$61 billion for civil and criminal justice in 1988, a 34% increase since 1985. Other findings in the report were that federal, state and local governments spent \$248 per capita: \$114 for police, \$78 for corrections, \$54 for judicial and legal services, and \$2 for other items. Since that time, federal, state and local spending has increased, although the FBI has reported a cumulative decrease in crime across the country.

Almost half of the nation's spending was for police protection, as police departments have become more militaristic. Corrections accounted for almost one third of justice costs. Spending for corrections grew the most during that period, by 65%. Since 1979, state spending for prison construction increased 593% in actual (constant) dollars with Texas and California leading all other states. In October 1988, the nation's civil and criminal justice system employed 1.6 million people, and the total October payroll for them was almost \$3.7 billion. In 2007, California, alone appropriated \$7 billion in new prison construction costs, while at the same time cutting billions of dollars from health care services and public education.

Crime is big business in America. Annually, the laws are changed to ensure profitability in the industry of crime. Social conditions that serve to maintain levels of poverty, that feed the industry of crime, also put stress on the social stratifications of society. Given the fact that America, from its inception, is a nation of criminals beyond what was elucidated in the *Wall Street Journal* article, social conflict is inevitable. In anticipation of this development, recently Congress passed into law House Bill 1599, further eroding a constitutional right to protest government repression. Hence, it is a matter of identifying the real culprits of crime and seeking the means to have them become accountable for their criminal behavior. This may very well include the redistribution of their wealth and the reorganization of the social contract between the government and the governed.

In response to the stratification outlines above, it requires revolutionary nationalist and socialist efforts to formulate a national political agenda and policy that will challenge the prevailing social contract between oppressed and the oppressor nation. This means revolutionary nationalists and socialists must have a clear and concise mass line and political program that identifies and explains the nature of poor peoples' oppression, and

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how they are to be organized to confront their oppression.

Endnotes

1. Taken from an edited version of a speech by Sabrina Virgo, given in L.A. on Human Rights Day, December 8, 1990.
2. Quoted from the text, *Criminology*, by Larry Siegel, pg. 40.
3. Quoted from *An Introduction to Sociology*, by Michael S. Bassis, Richard J. Gelles and Ann Levine, pgs. 238-239.

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Outpost

I am not interested in being American, because America has never been interested in me... No, I'm not an American. I'm one of 22 million Black people who are victims of Americanism.

Malcolm X

The apple pie is not in my eyes,
because, I can see clearly now,
the rain is gone... Yeah, the
rain is gone, my vision is no
longer clouded by propaganda
and pledge to allegiance.

Since 1867 enactment of the 14th
Amendment, who knew it would take
so long to put an end to this madness,
since the enemy has had an out-post
in our minds.

On the shoulders of our ancestors
the enemy reclined, knowing we don't
have history in our minds, it being
removed to the out-house where nothing
remains but their remains, unclaimed by
the next generation.

A rudderless ship in uncharted waters,
without history you're unable to navigate
to the shores of freedom. Because the
enemy has an out-post in your mind,
censoring your thoughts, keeping your
behavior towing the line.

11 million Afrikan orphans to be 20 million
in 6 years, which ultimately means 1-15

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Outpost

million Afrikan parents will die in such
time, and the world is silent, because
the enemy has an out-post in their minds,
diverting attention to Iraq, masturbating
your thoughts so you will support the enemy
ejaculating oil – with no consequences to a
sequence of distorted facts, bordering on
lunacy, as you pay exorbitant prices
for oil made patriotic for you to buy.

No, I'm not an American...

With over 1 million New Afrikans in U.S.
cages, they sit with inverted rages, unable to
reproduce, our numbers are reduced in stages,
rottening in cages – as their ages are
lowering to meet biological stages – the
phases are planned in tanks that think, as
they expect you to stay hood-winked,
because they believe they still
have an out-post in our minds.

But when you renounce allegiance and
declare yourself free, you purge the enemy
from where he used to be.

Becoming independent of thought, putting
your self-interest first, is one step up a
ladder that each step could make you
madder in knowing how the enemy's out-post
in your mind denied you the time,
the reason or the rhyme to know your rightful
place sublime in honor of the world's
combined populations, no matter
the race or nation.

No, I'm not an American...

For I have no desire to claim
its history of rape, murder and pillage.
As there is no longer an enemy out-post
in my mind!

The Cold War of the '90s

On May 12, 1994, the *Wall Street Journal* featured an article entitled "Making Crime Pay – Triangle of Interests Created Infrastructure to Fight Lawlessness – Cities See Jobs; Politicians Sense a Popular Issue and Business Cash In – The Cold War of the '90s."

In knowing how government employs the media to persuade the public to support political objectives on the behalf of military and business interests, the subtitle, *The Cold War of the 90s*, set an alarm off in my head. What in the past had been called the war against crime has evolved into an official social and political policy of government; it has now become a viable military and business interest. The government is now renovating military bases into prisons, so that former military communities will continue to have an industry. Today's rural communities want a prison in their back yard. The article stated:

Americans' fear of crime is creating a new version of the old military-industrial complex, an infrastructure born amid political rhetoric and a shower of federal, state and local dollars. As they did in the Eisenhower era, politicians are trying to outdo each other in standing up to the common enemy; communities pin their economic hopes on jobs related to the buildup; and large and small businesses scramble for a slice of the bounty. These mutually reinforcing interests are forging a formidable new "iron triangle" similar to the triangle that arms makers, military services and lawmakers formed three decades ago.

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The Cold War of the '90s

What is truly ominous about this development is the fact they are talking about increasing the number of people being sent to prison for longer periods. They are talking about how big business like Goldman Sachs & Co., Prudential Insurance Co. of America, Smith Barney Shearson, Inc., and Merrill Lynch & Co. are among those competing to underwrite prison construction with private, tax-exempt bonds – where no voter approval is required. In essence, big business is investing in the nation's prison system.

This raises the question, where have big business, big investors ever put the welfare of people before their own profits? How do big investors plan to gain a return of their investment, and make a profit? What does this mean to the average worker, and what does this mean to those communities in which most prisoners, being Afrikans and Hispanics, come from?

This country imprisons more of its citizens, about 2.4 million people in 2007, than any other industrialized nation. Although Euro-Americans comprise 69% of all those arrested, and Blacks comprise 29% of those arrested, institutional racism in the criminal (in)justice system incarcerates Blacks disproportionately. It imprisons New Afrikan men 4 times more than did apartheid South Africa, 9 times more than Euro-Americans. While New Afrikans comprise 48% of the U.S. prison population, they are only 12.5% of the entire population. Presently, the fastest-growing ethnic group imprisoned in this country are Latinos, representative of the country's right-wing, anti-immigration policies. Although these statistics were gathered several years ago by the federal government, imagine how these numbers has increased as a result of the developing infrastructure reminiscent of the industrial-military complex. The article purported that:

Parts of the defense establishment are cashing in, too, scenting a logical new line of business to help them offset military cutbacks (prior to initiating the Iraq war). Westinghouse Electric Corp., Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co., GDE Systems Inc. (a division of the old General Dynamics) and Alliant Techsystems Inc., for instance, are pushing crime-fighting equipment and have created special divisions to retool their defense

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technology for America's streets... Many lesser-known companies already are doing well fighting crime. Esmore Correctional Services Inc., the biggest U.S. maker of police electronics, recently was taken public by Janny Montgomery Scott.

If contemporary history is any indication, it is evident that government and business' "Cold War of the 90s" is targeted at the New African and Latino community. In searching for people to pillage and conquer for profits, the collusion of government, military, and business interests has turned inward, and now the enemy is us, it is the poor, it is the new immigrants of color, and it is the disenfranchised.

To gain support for this new conquest of manifest destiny, this opening of the new domestic frontier, the general public, i.e., Euro-Americans, must be persuaded to support what ultimately is the resurrection of involuntary servitude and slavery in America. To ensure that this happens, the government's nefarious alliance with the mass media has created an air of hysteria about crime. It has done so, although the Federal Bureau of Investigation recently reported that crime in America is decreasing – not increasing. The power of the media and government is extremely awesome. It is the power to define what we think about and how we think about it. It is the power to shape our collective consciousness and attitudes, and in so doing, motivate people to respond to specific stimuli, and respond in a specific way. As stated in the article,

...according to a new *Wall Street Journal/NBC News* poll, more than 70% of those surveyed support longer prison terms for violent offenders... Meanwhile, a recent Justice Department study shows that 21% of all federal prisoners are guilty of low-level, nonviolent offenses, such as possession of small quantities of illegal drugs, but are serving lengthy sentences under mandatory minimums set by Congress.

By shaping the collective consciousness and attitudes, the politicians are then able to pass into law draconian sanctions - sanctions that appease the will of the people demanding a safe society, but that ultimately serve the interest of restructuring the

The Cold War of the '90s

industrial-military complex, by forging an infrastructure for the proliferation of prison building. (The enactment of the Patriot Act after 911 is an example.) It soothes and anesthetizes the collective consciousness toward the desired end of permitting hundreds of thousands, if not millions more people to be incarcerated at no moral or psychic detriment to those who constitute the majority of Americans. This buildup fails to inhibit or prevent criminal social behavior by the poor and disenfranchised. This is particularly significant when "[T]here's a food fight among communities that want these prisons." For politicians like New York assemblyman Dan Feldman, chairman of the legislature's criminal-justice committee, prisons have become, he says "the juiciest pork in the barrel." Dr. Thomas the academic observed:

With the population in private prisons growing at four times the rate of the general prison population, growth for the private-prison industry is virtually guaranteed. If you were in the hotel industry, you'd think you died and gone to heaven.

The "Triangle of Interests" has set the stage for the resurrection of slavery in America, since this peculiar institution was never abolished. It is held that the 13th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution abolished involuntary servitude and chattel slavery of Africans, although there exists an exception clause for those who have been *duly convicted of a crime*. The exception clause has been consistently upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, holding that prisoners are no more than slaves of the State. Presumably, the U.S. will then be able to compete with China's prison-made products on the international market, since during his presidency, [Bill] Clinton maintained favorite-nation trading status with China, despite its human rights violations.

Given this reality of the proliferation of prison building, the logical consequence of this developing infrastructure of big business investment, military security technology, and government sanctions, along with mass media support suggests an increase in human toll. Hence, the reason for Pell grants being abolished in 1994, the removal of boxing and weight lifting from federal prisons, the lowering of the age to 13 for a person to be sentenced as an adult, the increase of the number of death penalty laws, and "three strikes you're out" penalties.

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The new millennium's criminalization of poverty in capitalist America points to the desensitization of a moral determination to assist the poor and end poverty. It points to the entrenchment of the idea of putting profits before people, lending to an understanding that if you are a poor Euro-American, New Afrikan, Latino, Asian, Native American or any combination of the same, prison could very well be part of your future.

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The Ethnic Cleansing of America

It began over a decade ago – subtle, quiet and unnoticeable. The media played it up as the result of the drug epidemic. The public accepted it with the belief they would be safer. Ten years later, the state and federal governments continue to laud its accomplishment and urge expansion of the cleansing process. With over 1,000,000 Black men and woman in jails and prisons, the ethnic cleansing of America has become an economic strategy of Wall Street, with private prisons on the stock market. Although FBI statistics proclaim a decline in crime, prison construction has become a growing multi-billion dollar business. Black men and women have become commodities in an industry directly representative of slavery. The 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which states, “*Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime... shall exist within the United States,*” actually indicates that slavery was not abolished; rather, it was institutionalized in the criminal justice system.

With the revelation of racist police profiling and a criminal justice system wrought with racism, it is appropriate to charge America with ethnic cleansing. Such a charge is especially ominous as Congress considers new laws that permit children as young as 10 to be tried and jailed as adults and states increase the use of the death penalty and tighten restrictions on parolee releases.

This country imprisons more of its citizens, approximately 2.4 million people, than any other industrialized nation. Although European Americans comprise 69% of those arrested, institutional racism in the criminal justice system incarcerates Blacks in disproportionate numbers. It imprisons New Afrikan men three times more than European Americans and four times more than did apartheid South Africa. While New Afrikans comprise 53%

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The Ethnic Cleansing of America

of those in prison, they are only 12.5% of the entire population.

This reality is coupled with the gentrification of Black communities, which are being destroyed from the top down. Voting districts are being redrawn or annexed, gerrymandering that serves to eliminate the prospects of Black elected representatives dedicated to the New Afrikan community. At the same time, real estate moguls, with the support of city and state officials, gentrify predominately Black neighborhoods, and entire communities are displaced as part of the cleansing process.

In addition, with right wing rollback of affirmative action policies, there is a drastic decline of Black enrollment in colleges, job hiring, promotions, and small business contracts. At the same time, welfare-to-workforce programs have increased the number of poverty-stricken single mothers, while the Section 8 housing program is being cut, causing an increase in homeless families. The USDA report, *Household Food Security in the United States 2004*, says that 38.2 million Americans suffer from hunger and food insecurity, including 14 million children. Furthermore, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, in the December 2006 report titled *Hunger and Homelessness Survey 2006*, informed that requests for emergency food assistance increased an average of 7%. The study found that 48% of those requesting emergency food assistance were families with children and that 37% of adults requesting such assistance were employed. Given these general circumstances affecting Americans, the impact on New Afrikans is exacerbated exponentially by institutional racism.

Hence, the criminalization of poverty: anyone who is poor, unemployed, and homeless is likely to suffer the penalties of incarceration. While these socio-economic conditions are produced by government policies, the corresponding result is the increase in the construction of prisons that have become the new housing for the poor and unemployed. At the same time, an exponential increase in orphaned Black children is burdening the foster care system.

Several years ago, the ethnic cleansing of Kosovo was overtly violent and disheartening. The ethnic cleansing in America is just as devastating, and in some instances overtly violent; an example is the vast number of police shootings and killing of unarmed Black youths across the country with impunity. Ethnic cleansing, no matter the means or method, destroys families, uproots neighborhoods, and creates orphans under a misguided policy of population control, i.e., the war on drugs and crime.

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Essentially, it can be argued the Black community has for over three decades been under direct attack from institutional racism via right wing state and federal government policies. Consider the reversing of affirmative action laws as one of many examples of these attacks leading to lowering the age of youths being charged as adults for criminal offenses. It is necessary to understand these developments in the U.S. are not isolated, but are also pursuant to Trilateral Commission population control goals. It was stated, according to the Population and Development Program at Hampshire College,

Fears of overpopulation are pervasive in American society. From an early age, we are taught that the world is overpopulated and that population pressure is responsible for poverty, hunger, environmental degradation and even political insecurity. If we don't get population growth under control now, the argument goes, our future is in danger.

Conventional wisdom, however, is not always wise. Placing the blame on population obscures the powerful economic and political forces that threaten the well-being of both people and the planet. It leads to top-down, target-driven population control programs that undermine voluntary family planning and women's reproduction rights. It reinforces racism, promoting harmful stereotypes of poor people of color. And it prevents the kind of global understanding we need in order to reach across borders to work together for a more just, peaceful and environmentally sustainable world!

Obviously, the disproportionate numbers of New Afrikans in prison, particularly young Black men and women during their most reproductive years, ultimately lowers the birth rate of the Black population. Two decades ago, it was reported that Black men in America are an endangered species, and that Black men in Harlem have a life expectancy less than that of men in Bangladesh. The genocidal implications are even more startling when one considers the state of Black health:

The Ethnic Cleansing of America

1. Infant mortality is more than twice as high among Blacks as whites.
2. AIDS is the leading cause of death for Blacks age 25 to 44.
3. Homicide is the second leading cause of death among Black men ages 25 to 44, killing one in 22 Black men.
4. Blacks suffer considerably more strokes than their white counterparts and are more than five times more likely to die from them.
5. Black men are 38% more likely to get prostate cancer than white men and more than twice as likely to die of it.
6. Black women are less likely to get breast cancer but more likely to die of it.

It should be added that there are more Black single-parent households than ever before, and 35 to 50% of Black youths are consistently unemployed. With a 58% Black prison population, it is estimated one of every three Black males at some point in his life will confront the criminal justice system. This is not surprising considering racist police profiling across the country.

Given the reality of Black mortality from the cradle to the prison system, and the absence of government-sponsored and financed programs to reverse these developments, it doesn't take much imagination to compare and contrast what Serbia did to Kosovo's Albanians with America's ethnic cleansing of New Afrikans. For example, after the Colorado high school shooting, then President Clinton provided \$1.2 million for funerals and counseling. However, in response to drug and gang violence in poor and oppressed communities, draconian laws are implemented, such as gang injunctions and equating street gangs with terrorist organizations.

It is a well-established historical fact that the U.S. government is capable of such horrendous, inhumane activities. Some examples are the genocidal decimation of the Native

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American population and continued violation of treaties, the Atlantic slave trade and chattel slavery, Black Codes, Jim Crow laws and the denial of reparations, the atomic bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, the carpet bombing and the use of defoliants in Vietnam with collateral birth defects decades afterwards, the 250,000 Iraqis killed in seven days of bombing during Desert Storm, and over 1 million dead civilians during the Iraqi "oil" war. All of these give credence to the proposition that the U.S. government is tacitly capable of engaging in ethnic cleansing, while at the same time proclaiming itself a champion of democracy and human rights.

It is expected the U.S. will continue to lead all industrial nations with the largest prison population. The American ethnic cleansing process will soon go into its second phase: increase death penalty executions, further restrict public and media oversight of prison management, increase the privatization of prisons, limit prisoners' court appeals and movements, and broaden the market for prison-made products.

Because corporate media supports the subtle style of American ethnic cleansing it is unnoticed. It doesn't alarm the majority of Americans or the broader international community. However, this reality does in fact exist, and it is time public leaders and the media begin to recognize that the claimed economic prosperity of America does not translate into racial and ethnic harmony and stability. There is something extremely wrong with the disproportionate number of Blacks incarcerated, and it has little to do with the pretext of a war on drugs and crime. It should be described for what it actually is, the racist American style of population control and ethnic cleansing.

Endnotes

1. 10 Reasons to Rethink 'Overpopulation,' Fall 2006.

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Katrina!!!

Katrina, Katrina what made you so mean?
Katrina, Katrina you're worse than a crack fiend!

Bush promises, and Halliburton moves in
fulfilling mandates with no bid contracts as
New Orleans and Biloxi resembles the
bombed-out shell that once was Mesopotamia.
As the once contained oil seeps back from
where it came, contaminating the land of the
displaced, considered refugees in the Astro-dome.

The promises of Bush are as revealing as
Judge Roberts confirmation hearing – and
we are asked to trust he will be fair. But we
know the Bush political agenda is the neo-
cons revelation, Chapter 6 – Verse 5.

Katrina, Katrina what made you so mean?
Katrina, Katrina you're worse than a crack fiend!

The levees broke open the heart of America
like the piercing screams of an Afrikan baby
thrown overboard during the middle passage
– as slavery's face grimaced with the
knowing the federal government cares
nothing about New Afrikan people, as CNN
broadcast their affliction around the world,
embarrassing democracy, exposing
America's history of eco-racism in living
color; but mostly in black and white. With
the 9th Ward in disrepair, white flight and
black despair, proceeding mass
gentrification to ensure the poor are
dispersed to new enclaves of poverty,
hidden away from the disaster of media exposure.

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Katrina!!!

Katrina, Katrina what made you so mean?
Katrina, Katrina you're worse than a crack fiend!

Where are the 2500 New Afrikan babies?
A reminder of the retreat from Vietnam and
the kidnapping of Vietnamese babies; as in
New Orleans the taking of babies, leaving
the parents behind, to watch water lines
climb, as tears and fears stretched into the
dark unknown; while CNN reports floating
bodies and the national guard wait on
standby for the next commercial break of
red tape so no one could escape their watery
fate, sponsored by Dick Cheney and Halliburton.

Katrina, Katrina what made you so mean?
Katrina, Katrina you're worse than a crack fiend!

Hurricane Carter did 25 years for a crime he
did not commit, a prime example of
American justice personified. Hurricanes in
America always screw poor folks. The next
hurricane should hit the White House and
leave the Bush's in Shock and Awe,
perhaps, then they will be better off;
and we'll name that hurricane Mumia!

America Reaps What it Sows!

U.S. International Warfare Initiates World War III and Denies Human Rights in Wartime

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, Americans have displayed their true colors of jingoism, a militaristic spirit of nationalism. Similarly, it was witnessed how the people of Iraq rallied in support of their President, Saddam Hussein, after the U.S. bombed to death 250,000 Iraqis, and continued devastation of that country with collateral damage of more than 1 million dead women and children. Hence, people rallying in support of their government and representatives is a common phenomenon, especially when a country is attacked by a foreign power. The U.S. has been foremost in the world extending a foreign policy of free-market economy, exporting the U.S. brand of democracy, to the extent of undermining other countries' cultures and ideologies expressed as their way of life. Inevitably, such conflicts position the U.S. as the centerpiece, the bulls-eye for international political dissent, as indicated by demonstrations against the U.S.-controlled IMF, WTO and World Bank conferences. The attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon did not occur in a vacuum. The people that carried out the attacks were not blind followers or robots with an irrational hatred of the U.S. peoples. Rather, this attack was part of an overall blowback to U.S. imperialist policy in support of Zionist Israel and opposition to fundamentalist Islam.

There are essentially three primary world ideologies or world-views: the capitalist free-market economy/democracy, the socialist production and distribution economy, and Islamic theocratic government, all of which have been in competition for many decades. However, in the last 20 years the socialist

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economies have been severely subverted and co-opted by free-market economies, the ideals of American-style democracy. This isolated, for the most part, Islamic theocratic ideology and system of government as the principle target of the U.S. in its quest for world hegemony. This reality of competing world views and economies is further complicated due to religious underpinning of beliefs that motivates actions, especially as they are expressed by U.S. and Western European Christianity and Israel Zionist Judaism in opposition to Islam. From the struggles of the Crusades to the present confrontation, the struggle for ideological supremacy reigns, as the faithful continue to proselytize in the name of the Supreme Being.

When geopolitics are combined with religious fervor in the character of national identity and patriotism, rational and logical thinking are shoved aside as matters of the moment take historical precedent. U.S. geopolitics has extended its avaricious tentacles as the world police and economic harbinger of all that is beneficent, in stark denial of its history as a purveyor of genocides, slavery and colonial violence.

The U.S. was the first to use biological-germ warfare on people when it distributed blankets infected with smallpox to Native Americans. The U.S. has refused to apologize for Afrikan slavery or acknowledge it engaged in a crime against humanity requiring reparations. The U.S. is the first and only country to use the atomic bomb on the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and interned thousands of Japanese and Italians in this country. The U.S. used carpet-bombing and defoliates against the people of Vietnam, it has initiated embargoes, coup d'états and assassinations against those it opposes, while propping-up right wing military dictators, as well as continued military bombing of Vieques. The U.S. kidnapping of Aristide from Haiti, and the U.S. propping-up of a U.N. puppet government is the latest example of criminal international aggression. In essence, the U.S. government hegemonic goal has created the ire of millions of people throughout the world. Domestic racial profiling, police killing and mass incarceration of Black and Brown peoples have eroded patriotic sentiments in opposition to white supremacy.

As America weeps and laments its loss from 9/11, the public finds itself joining the torn ranks of those whose heartache beats opposing U.S. greed and international profiteering. The American public's acquiescence to U.S. international folly has caused them to feel the economic pains of those who live daily in

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poverty. Indeed, Americans should brace for years of economic uncertainty, where the American ideal of freedom and liberty will resemble the plight of those who live under right wing dictatorships the U.S. has supported. The tyranny suffered by others in the world as a result of U.S. imperialism has come full circle to visit this country with the wrath of the U.S.'s own mechanization. The U.S. taught and trained right wing military dictators in the School of the Americas, including Osama bin Laden in the Afghanistan proxy war against the Russians. Hence, it is expected the same kind of terrorist activity will be unleashed on American soil, as El-Hajj Malik Shabazz stated after the assassination of John Kennedy, a matter of the chickens coming home to roost. Hence, American civil liberties and human rights are being garroted by the yoke of the right wing in the name of national security. In a series of laws, the legalization of U.S. fascism was initiated with the war against political dissent (COINTELPRO); the war against organized crime (RICO laws); the war against illegal drugs (plethora of drug laws); and now culminating in the war against terrorism with the American Joint Anti-Terrorist Taskforce, the Patriot Act and the Department of Homeland Security, further extending police, FBI and CIA powers to undermine domestic civil liberties and human rights.

The former U.S. Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, stated the U.S. needs to create a new language in defining how to combat terrorism. This Orwellian propaganda in the media espouses the U.S. is venturing into a new type of warfare to defend the American way of life. However, what this double-speak propagates as a long-term and sustained initiative against terrorism is essentially a way of embellishing and enlarging U.S. counter-insurgency activity it has been engaged in since the advent of the Green Berets, Rangers, Delta Force, and Navy Seals. The U.S. has been involved in counter-insurgency activity in Afrika, Latin America and Asia for decades. However, due to the September 11, 2001 attack on U.S. soil, the government has seized the opportunity to pursue offensively left-wing revolutionaries and Muslim insurgents throughout the world. This U.S. military action extends and substantiates its position as the international police.

Since the establishment of the Trilateral Commission that initiated the process for depopulation and the development of one world government, the U.S. has broadened its capacity to impose and enforce its will on oppressed peoples globally. Accordingly,

the FBI and CIA have been operating in Europe, Afrika, Asia and Latin America establishing the long arm of U.S. law and order. Their bases of operations have conducted surveillance, investigations, and arrests to prosecute or neutralize left-wing revolutionaries or Muslim insurgents. As the U.S. consolidates its political and economic influence throughout the world, it will seek to protect its overall hegemonic imperialist goals. After the first Gulf War, and the air-bombing campaign in Yugoslavia, the U.S. has intensified the employing of its military might to ensure its foreign policy is accomplished.

Because NATO has evolved into a European military entity that Russia seeks to join, today, the U.S. has positioned itself beyond the mission of NATO in Europe. The U.S. now concentrates its military might in opposing Islamic countries (Iraq, Iran, Libya, Sudan, Afghanistan, Syria, Philippines, etc.), and those the U.S. deems as rogue nations (North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Venezuela, etc.). The new military initiatives will be directed toward Southeast Asia as a secondary target, as it continues to direct the Middle East conflict to preserve its oil investments and Zionist interest. As the U.S. expands its imperialist military mission, as seen with committing military troops in Uzbekistan to also protect oil interests in the Caspian Sea (in opposition to Russia's interest in the same area), it has sought to redefine itself by targeting what it identifies as the terrorist threat wherever in the world it might exist. Thereby, with the employment of conventional warfare combined with counter-insurgency tactical activities, the U.S. has pronounced itself the military guardian of the world.

Although the U.S. states its actions are in its self-interest, euphemistically defined as defending the free world, the truth of the matter is these actions are a prelude to an evolving one-world government, with the U.S. as its governing authority. Once the Peoples Republic of China becomes a full member of the WTO, and with North Korea and Vietnam compromised, and Russia becoming an ally of NATO, the U.S. political-military world influence will practically be consolidated. Hence, the U.S. geopolitical strategy is not solely confine to the present crisis in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, attacking fundamentalist Islam, targeting Osama bin Laden as the world's nemesis, and conjuring a way to engage in regime change and/or invade Iran. Rather, the U.S. strategy is to preserve its capacity to establish one world government as originally envisioned by the Trilateral

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Commission.

Nonetheless, there are some serious obstacles to this hegemonic goal, of which the world of fundamentalist Islam has become the principle target. Here, it should be noted that Islam condemns suicide or the mass killings of women, children and non-combatant males. However, because of the U.S. military's indiscriminate air bombing of Islamic communities, Islamic fundamentalists have offended these basic principles of Islam. Yet, the U.S., Israel, Western Europe, Russia, India, and China all view Islamic fundamentalists as the enemy. Although there are over 1.2 billion Muslims in the world, the majority in Malaysia, the current alliance of economic interests headed by the U.S., are united to vanquish what they consider the growing menace of fundamentalist Islam. It is with this understanding of U.S. geopolitics one is able to comprehend why the U.S. has redefined its military mission, when opposition to globalization and U.S. imperialism metamorphs into a political struggle without borders or territorial imperatives.

The ideological struggle between the capitalist free-market economy and Islamic theocratic determinants has exploded into an international conflagration of insurgency with the potential of initiating World War III in the years to come. The Islamic fundamentalist movements throughout the world have the potential to test the U.S. military, political, and economic resolve as the world's leader and authority of a one-world government. With over 1.2 billion adherents, Islam has become a formidable foe to contend with for ideological supremacy in the world's geopolitics. Even without discussing the religious (moral and ethical) aspects that motivates the geopolitics of Islam in opposition to U.S. imperialist hegemony, the call for Jihad/Holy War against the U.S. presents a serious threat that could precipitate WW-III. This is especially true when considering Russia's growing economic interest with Iran and the European Balkan States. Therefore, the U.S. finds it necessary to redefine its military mission, develop new language to codify warfare and legitimize its international political and economic purpose. However, many of the world's oppressed peoples have already experienced U.S. military counter-insurgency tactics (Ethiopia, Somalia, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Chile, Congo, etc.), including parts of the Islamic world. No matter how or why the U.S. attempts to persuade Americans that it is entering a new type of warfare, in reality, it is more of the same. The U.S. is only extending its military domination in furtherance

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of its perceived authority to establish one world government, as the war in Iraq and Afghanistan continue to rage to the dismay of the American people.

Nonetheless, the U.S. is not the homogenous country that people are deluded into believing exists. Rather, the U.S. has been held together due to its ability to exploit the world's resources and distribute (unequally) the profits among its citizens with their culture of conspicuous consumption. The 9/11 attack on the U.S., and its aftermath may very well lead to the untangling and unraveling of the U.S. fabric, as has been witnessed in the past with the breaking apart of the USSR and Yugoslavia. This understanding of the true history of U.S. imperialism, outside and within its borders, essentially tells a story of why U.S. imperialism has been and will continue to be attacked.

Ultimately, the U.S. will eventually find itself at war with itself, as the ideology of a free democratic society will be found to be a big lie. This is especially disconcerting as greater restrictions on civil and human rights are made into law eroding the First and Fourth Amendment of U.S. Constitution. As during the Vietnam conflict, internal contradictions of racism, poverty, and inequality will be exacerbated because of the U.S. military's Iraq and Afghanistan campaign and domestic undermining of civil and human rights. It is expected that strife in America will eventually become violent, dissolving any semblance of the illusion of America the Beautiful. This should not be a surprise when considering the FBI's memorandum of August 25, 1967 describing the purpose and intent of COINTELPRO,

...to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder.

The pernicious background of such groups, their duplicity, and such publicity will have a neutralizing effect. Efforts of the various groups to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents must be frustrated. No opportunity should be missed to exploit

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through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leadership of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing Black Nationalist organizations. When an opportunity is apparent to disrupt or neutralize Black Nationalist, hate-type organizations through cooperation of established local news media contacts or through such contact with sources available to the Seat of Government, in every instance careful attention must be given to the proposal to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited through publicity and not merely publicized.

Intensified attention under this program should be afforded to the activities of such groups as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Revolutionary Action Movement, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, Congress of Racial Equality, Nation of Islam. Particular emphasis should be given to extremists who direct the activities and policies of revolutionary or militant groups as Stokely Carmichael, H. "Rap" Brown, Elijah Muhammad, and Maxwell Stanford."

In another internal FBI memorandum of March 9, 1968, it proposed *neutralizing* those who promoted fundamental changes challenging socio-economic conditions confronting poor and oppressed communities. The memorandum specifically encouraged *neutralizing* New Afrikan youths, stating, "*Negro youths and moderates must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries.*" The history of domestic civil and human rights violations by the FBI and U.S. military has been hidden from the American population. For example, Americans are unaware of the

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extent the religious pacifist and civil rights leader, Martin L. King, Jr., was a target of the FBI, other U.S. intelligence agencies and Military Intelligence Group. The U.S. Senate Church Committee Report of 1976, entitled *Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans* states,

[T]he “neutralization” program continued until Dr. King’s death. As late as March 1968, FBI agents were being instructed to neutralize Dr. King because he might become “a messiah” who could “unify, and electrify the militant Black Nationalist movement, if he were to abandon his ‘obedience’ to ‘white liberal doctrines’ (nonviolence) and embrace Black Nationalism.” Steps were taken to subvert the “Poor People’s Campaign” which, Dr. King was planning to lead in the spring of 1968. Even after King’s death, agents in the field were proposing methods for harassing his widow, and Bureau officials were trying to prevent his birthday from becoming a national holiday.¹

However, since 9/11, a series of laws have legalized what had been unconstitutional police, FBI and U.S. military domestic activities. In anticipation of U.S. progressive activists opposing this claimed war against terrorism, the federal government has passed new laws broadening the Patriot Act. Specifically, these new laws severely restrict protest, demonstrations and dissent, as for example, the October 17, 2006, signing of the *John Warner Defense Authorization Act of 2007*. In a private Oval Office ceremony, the president signed the bill that permits his office to declare a *public emergency* and station troops anywhere in America, taking control of state-based National Guard units without the consent of the governor or local authorities, in order to *suppress public disorder*. On this same day, the president signed the *Military Commission Act of 2006*, which allows for torture and detention abroad, as Section 1076 entitled *Use of the Armed Forces in Major Public Emergencies*, essentially puts in place the mechanism for the implementation of “martial law” according to

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Section 333, which states,

...the President may employ the armed forces, including the National Guard, in Federal service, to restore public order and enforce the laws of the United States when, as a result of a natural disaster, epidemic, or other serious public health emergency, terrorist attack or incident, or other condition in any State or possession of the United States, the president determines that domestic violence has occurred to such an extent that the constitutional authorities of the State or possession are incapable of ('refuse' or 'fail' in)...

Most recently, 404 members of the U.S. House of Representatives passed HR 1955, titled the *Violent Radicalization and Homegrown Terrorism Prevention Act of 2007*, which in the series of bills has substantiated the means and method for the application of martial law. This latest initiative establishes a crime for the promotion of *ideological terrorism*, and Section 899D creates a Center of Excellence for the Study of Violent Radicalization and Homegrown Terrorism in the United States under the auspices of the Department of Homeland Security. All of these laws severely erode the U.S. Constitution, violate civil and human rights, and project a fascist police state agenda.

In the 60s, U.S. progressive activists evolved the slogan "Bring the War Home!" The question is, what will be the slogan this time, now that the war has been brought home? Free the Land!!

Endnotes

1. For more information on Martin L. King, Jr., being a U.S. government and military target read: *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars Against the Dissent in the United States* (Boston; South End, 1990), by Ward Churchill; *Whiteout: The CIA, Drugs and the Press* (Versco, NY 1999) by Alexander Cockburn; *An Act of State: The Execution of Martin Luther King*, by William F. Pepper (2003).

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The Bush Family

The passage of time cannot deny
the heritage of your legacy,
pirates whose family crest is
Skulls & Bones,
but today is juxtaposed with
Stars and Stripes.

Synchronized minds out of time,
goose-step marching in the era of
Big-Brother and double-speak, in
an effort to complete the legacy
of rape and pillage, exhaling
polluted lies while inhaling
the cries of the despised, the
wretched of the earth whose pleas
are heard on deaf ears, as their
sign language is denied by eyes
since Justice has turned away with
a dull sword blunted by alibis
of scavengers and imperialists.

To recognize these truths is to know
Deep Throat was a FBI COINTELPRO agent.
The duplicity consistent with their
reality, especially since their democracy
reeks of hypocrisy, and all we can do is
swim against the tide and pray the maelstrom
do not take us under. For the undertow of
ignorance is prevalent, capturing the masses
into the hysteria manufactured by the CIA on
9/11, as the shadow government disguises
the history that ties the bin Laden rise to

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The Bush Family

the Bush reign under the flag of
Skull & Bones.

Indeed, Liberty is taken hostage by the
Patriot Act; awaiting true freedom fighters
to rescue her from the bowels of a pirate
ship christened the White House, where
blackened hearts dwell, pumping the anguished
blood of humanity into pools of oil, and
like shape-shifters, shifting the blame on
former allies who came to realize their
shameless ties to the devil!

Religion and Revolution

In 1999, the Progressive National Baptist Convention, to their credit proclaimed a national strategy to save our youth from prison and death, by challenging state governments to end their prison building policies [reported in *San Francisco Bay View*, 9/22/99, "Baptist convention calls for end to jailing and killing Black youth"]. No matter our religious beliefs, we should laud these goals and support these endeavors. It is a well-established fact, that New Afrikans' relationship with the U.S. government has always been exploitative. The prison industrial complex is the latest effort to reap exorbitant profits from Black youths, because of their confronting the racist criminal justice system. For the Progressive National Baptist Convention to require its 2.5 million members and 2,000 churches take a forward political position on this issue, should serve notice on all religious denominations of the need to aggressively challenge and politically counter state governments and private business prison-building.

However, in order to expect all religious denominations to take an offensive against prison-building, it is important to understand the exploitative relationship that New Afrikan's have with the U.S. government. This understanding permits clerics and preachers to stand before their congregation and preach liberation theology. In respects to preaching a liberation theology, it is important to recognize that New Afrikans' spiritual development is supported by various belief systems/faiths. The New Afrikan Nation comprises Christians, Muslims, Jews, Buddhist, animists and atheists, all of whom are oppressed, not because of their belief system, but because of their race and class. Many of these individuals are politically conscious, willing and prepared to engage, build and organize toward ending the exploitation of our youth and people. It is these individuals, no matter their personal spiritual belief system, that need to be organized into a united front of unity and struggle. Our position should be, any religion

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Religion and Revolution

or belief system that prohibits its adherents from engaging in the struggle to end exploitation and oppression should be discarded. Thus, it can be held that liberation theology supports the liberation of oppressed peoples from racism and capitalist exploitation.

For many it is understood that revolution is the socio-economic and political evolutionary process of man/woman development from one level of socio-political consciousness to a higher level of consciousness and action. The (r)evolutionary process forges moral determinants that establish a revolutionary culture in opposition to the dominant culture of the oppressor nation, i.e., cultural imperialism. Hence, a new value system and morality is created out of the development of the struggle, establishing a new man and woman – the revolutionary man and woman. In the words of El Hajj Malik Shabazz,

The time we are living in... and... are facing now is not an era where one who is oppressed is looking towards the oppressor to give him some system or form of logic and reason. What is logical to the oppressor isn't logical to the oppressed, and what is reason to the oppressor is not reason the oppressed. The black (New Afrikan) people in this country are beginning to realize that what sounds reasonable to those who exploit us doesn't sound reasonable to us. There just has to be a new system of reason and logic devised by us who are on the bottom, if we want some results in its struggle that is called "Negro Revolution.

It is through the course of (r)evolution we develop our own logic and reason, we forge our revolutionary culture, and establish our liberation theology and belief systems that wholly embrace our struggles and movements. Thereby, our spirituality is expressed in the material reality of our struggle to end racism and exploitation. Any belief system or spirituality that is not manifested in the material world of our existence has no basis to survive the course of our struggle.

With this understanding, we note that liberation theology is to create a fresh theological approach to reflection and praxis, or

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committed involvement in struggle. Yet, it is argued the *genesis* of liberation theology has evolved from the efforts of people wanting to be free of oppression and appealing to God or the divine for intervention of their oppression. Thus, Prophet Moses applied liberation theology when he freed the Hebrews from Egyptian domination. The same can be said of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) when he liberated Mecca from the idolatry of the Arabian clans. Therefore, it is not far-fetched to rediscover and qualify theology as a potential liberation force. This is particularly significant, given that Prophet Jesus sought to restore moral and religious principles at a time when Roman oppression prevailed in his land, castigating the money lender's, prostitutes, fraudulent rabbis and avaricious land owners.

Hence, worship in this context is based on the premise there is a need for liberation – to be liberated from conditions that hinder spiritual growth and evolvment, conditions that deny the basic human quality of life that allows for the spirit of God to reign. Thus, God becomes the liberator, the spirit of God as the liberator is evoked and religion develops the means and method by which the spirit of a liberating God is manifested. There is no one set pattern in which to evoke or manifest the spirit of a liberating God. Rather, people struggling to be liberated must call upon their God in accord to given conditions of their exploitation and oppression and the form of worship they practice.

This theopraxis must become an encompassing practice that creates socio-economic and political determinatives in order to foster a real movement to end exploitation and oppression. But in order to do so, this theopraxis must be responsive to the historical-dialectical and material basis by which oppression derived. The hearing of the word of God anew must turn revelation into revolution; in a sense, liberation theology is the spiritual revelation of revolution.

Liberation theology, Paulo Freire explains in *The Politics of Education*, “demands of its followers a knowledge of socio-political science...(and) since science cannot be neutral this demands an ideological choice.” He further explains that the church must be prophetic in its approach, applying the Exodus story to incarnate the spirit of liberation or the God of liberation. Ideological choice in respects to socio-political science definitely puts theopraxis to task, causing its practitioners to consider how best to manifest materially their spiritual faith and inclinations. As stated in the *Holy Qur'an*, “oppression and tumult is worse

Religion and Revolution

than slaughter... fight oppression where you may find it.” New Afrikan theologian, James H. Cone argues,

The creation of just social order must be grounded in the hopes that have been engendered by the poor as they have emerged from their encounter with God in their fight for freedom. Thus, the reflective visions of the poor as defined by their political struggles and as celebrated in their religious life must be taken seriously... I contend that a just social order must be accountable to not one but many religious visions. If we are going to create a society that is responsive to the humanity of all, then we must now view one religious faith as absolute... Any creation of a just social order must take into account that God has been known and experienced in many different ways. Because we have an imperfect grasp of divine reality, we must not regard our limited vision as absolute. Today such a view must be firmly rejected.

Hence, any theopraxis must (1) be a transformation of the self-identity of the communities that have been crushed by oppression and an affirmation of those communities; (2) be a vision of solidarity among the particular communities; (3) and be the empowerment coming from an enhanced self-image and commitment to solidarity must be translated into goals for political, socio-economic, and united actions.

While the Progressive National Baptist Convention must be applauded and supported for calling for the end of exploitation of our youth, and the end of prison-building in this country, we must continue to be gravely concerned about the method and path this struggle will take. El-Hajj Malik Shabazz, in his famous speech *The Ballot or the Bullet*, advised, “We need to expand the civil-rights struggle to a higher level – to the level of human rights. Whenever you are in a civil-rights struggle, whether you know it or not, you are confining yourself to the jurisdiction of Uncle Sam. No one from the outside world can speak out on your behalf as

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long as your struggle is a civil-rights struggle.” Hence, it is the demand for *human rights* as the basis for developing liberation theology praxis that needs to be borne by the Progressive National Baptist Convention, and must be emulated by other religious denominations. In so doing, the Progressive National Baptist Convention, with its 2,000 churches, would do all New Afrikans a great service if it would call for a united front of all religious denominations to demand a moratorium on prison-building and amnesty for all U.S. political prisoners.

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The Perverse Slave Mentality

The 13th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution reads: "Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for a crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, nor any place subject to their jurisdiction."

The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution reads in part: "Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and subject to the wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; not deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

What does the exception clause in the 13th Amendment mean? What does the naturalization clause in the 14th Amendment mean? Ultimately, this means slavery in the U.S. was never abolished; instead it was institutionalized in the prison system. The government ended chattel slavery and instituted penal slavery. Today, in the U.S. prison system, 47% of all prisoners are of Afrikan descent. Do you believe this is by accident? Do you believe that 47% of 12.5% of the entire American population are consciously and deliberately criminal? When considering the naturalization laws of the 14th Amendment in light of its history, the question must be raised: Did Afrikans at the end of chattel slavery vote upon or agree to become U.S. citizens? Were they provided an opportunity to return to Afrika, to establish their own independence and nation, or have the opportunity to have dual citizenship between the U.S. and Afrikan countries? If not, why not?

When we look at the socio-economic and political state of Afrikans in the Diaspora, it is important to consider to what extent

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The Perverse Slave Mentality

the peculiar institution of slavery continues to influence behavior and relationships between and among people of Afrikan descent and between nation-states. Obviously, there exists an extreme problem of assimilation and acculturation, where the dominant culture has denied or severely undermined the indigenous culture and ethos of Afrikans peoples. This prevailing condition must be addressed in a struggle to rectify the ill effects of assimilation and acculturation. It will not be until people of Afrikan descent resolve this issue of an identity, subject to the misfortune of slavery, when they will cease to continue to suffer the ills of the experience of slavery.

For example, many identify themselves as Afrikan-American, recently acquiescing to the ideals promulgated by the Black assimilation and the integrationist movement. However, the acceptance of this identity, I dare say, affirms and coalesces a form of schizophrenia as proffered by Franz Fanon in his book, *Black Skin White Mask*. For the question must be asked, when has America been in support of Afrika? However, these assimilationists identify with a system of government whose interest in half of what they identify themselves as being, is in direct opposition to their very existence. The conflict is real, one in which the psychological dynamic surfaces in thinking and behavior, with actions that are not in the best interest of Afrika. Obviously, the American side of their identity overwhelms and dominates their Afrikan side to the overall detriment of all Afrikan descendants.

Unfortunately, this reality is not isolated to North America; rather it is an identity crisis that hinders the advent of a Pan-Afrikanist movement. Afrikans in the Diaspora have been divided into a myriad of nationalities throughout the Caribbean, North and South America as the slave experience continues to adversely influence our existence, denying our common reality of national oppression no matter our geographical location. This reality should scream out from the very pores of our bodies, demanding and claiming an Afrikan heritage and reality.

However, this does not require a negation of the horrendous Afrikan experience in the Americas. What is required is rectifying the assimilationist/integrationist philosophy, and forging a socio-economic political and cultural determinant that coalesces in a New Afrikan reality. Hence, not only should this reality internalize the slave history in the Diaspora, but also further incorporate the Afrikan history from the onset of the Atlantic slave

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trade. Who then, are these descendants? In essence, we are the aggregation of all those parts of the Atlantic slave trade (Hausa, Fulani, Mandingo, Mandika, Ibo, Dutch, Portuguese, English, Spanish, French, Taino, Arawak, etc.), a forced miscegenation of a genetic mix resulting into the New Afrikan.

It is here argued and postulated, we are not Afrikan-Americans, but rather need to identify ourselves as New Afrikans. Even more, we need to embrace this reality with our common histories and mix languages to speak to the rest of the world from that reality. The Dutch-speaking Afrikans of Surinam, the Portuguese-speaking Afrikans of Brazil, the Spanish-speaking Afrikans of Cuba and Puerto Rico, the French-speaking Afrikans of Haiti, the English-speaking Afrikans in other parts of the Americas have an unique historical voice that, when united in Pan-Afrikan unity, must demand recognition from the world. Here, lie the true significance and demand of reparations, the need to repair what has been broken due to the experience of the Atlantic slave trade, colonialism, assimilation, and acculturation. It is when we announce ourselves to the world as being New Afrikans that we will have divorced ourselves psychologically from the schizophrenia that ultimately denied our heritage and struggle for true liberation and independence.

Therefore, when we look into the mirror, I hope we all will see the prison that continues to enslave; the prison absent the bars, gun towers, and steel cages; but rather the prison of the mind imposed by a perverse slave mentality, adjusted and in conformity to the denial, we are New Afrikan people. Know that our salvation will be when we break the shackles that bind our minds to identify with those who never had our best interests at heart, and who continue to deny reparations for their crimes against our collective Afrikan humanity.

I urge all to struggle to free ourselves from the prison in our minds, and in doing so, liberate ourselves from a perverse slave mentality that has denied our New Afrikaness in its totality. For America has never abolished slavery, only institutionalized it in the subtlety of making you believe yourself to be an American!

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Chairman Fred and Captain Mark

When they come in the morning,
will you be ready?

Before the rooster crows,
like chicken coming home to roost,
they always come in the morning!

With their robotic, automatic,
lock-step precision marching to
a tune abiding their nightmarish
intentions like a theme to a horror movie.

There was no knock on the door,
the no-knock law was in effect
before it became law. We always
knew it existed, since no
sanctuary was inviolable for as
long as we inhabited the place
where our breath took up space.

For us, all of life had been
an occupational hazard!

They knew their target was a flag,
a banner dressed in black leather,
that the wind of freedom made it
wave. A flap like thunder clap,
awakening the dead. The living
dead whose thinking embraced
the lies that distorted our lives
into inhumane shapes of catatonic
likeness of Frankenstein's image.

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Chairman Fred and Captain Mark

Before the dawn, they raided under
the blanket of a star fallen night,
dispensing fright, and murder, and
death... Their bullets flew like the
spray of demented holy water to
exorcise, to purify in the gospel of
their racist might, sanctifying their
existence.

And Two Laid Dead!

They claimed a victory as if they won
a bet, enriching themselves in blood,
like parasitic vampires they fed an
insatiable lust for power.

The wind of freedom never ceased,
the black leather flag draped over
their coffins like a symbol to his
immortal words.

**“You can kill a revolutionary,
But you can’t kill revolution.
You can jail a freedom fighter,
But you can’t jail freedom!”**

A Political Prisoner's Journey in the U.S. Prison System

After the 1975 illegal NYC Newkill conviction of killing two police officers on May 21, 1971, the authorities transferred me back to San Quentin prison in California. They wanted me to complete the sentence I was originally captured for on August 28, 1971, in a shoot-out with San Francisco police. It was alleged that my co-defendant, Albert "Nuh" Washington and I attempted to assassinate a police sergeant in retaliation for the August 21, 1971, assassination of Comrade George L. Jackson, a Black Panther Party Field Marshall (read: *Comrade George: An Investigation into the Official Story of His Assassination*, by Eric Mann). Once again held in the infamous S.Q. Adjustment Center, locked in a cell between Brother Ruchell Magee and Charles Manson, I received a leaflet from the indomitable Sister Yuri Kochiyama of the National Committee in Defense of Political Prisoners (NCDPP), informing me of an initiative to build international support for U.S. political prisoners. In response, I wrote an outline to petition the United Nations in support of U.S. political prisoners. I gave the outline to Ruchell who thought it was very good and then passed it along to Geronimo Ji Jaga (Pratt), who also approved. I then rewrote the outline subject according to their comments into a proposal and sent it to Yuri for NCDPP consideration. Unfortunately, NCDPP did not act on the proposal. Then in late 1976, I met a white guy in San Quentin named Commie Mike, and he introduced me to the United Prisoners Union (UPU). He explained that UPU might be willing to implement my proposal to petition the U.N. in support of U.S. political prisoners. UPU had gone through a serious struggle, losing its primary leader, a guy by the name of Popeye Jackson who was killed in an internecine feud with another prisoners' support group called Tribal Thumb in the Bay Area. The young UPU activist white woman, Pat Singer, had been Jackson's paramour, and recently gave birth to a baby girl, but

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was undaunted by the terrible experience and desired to continue working in support of the California prison movement. She came to visit and brought my proposal to the group, which eventually agreed to support this national campaign. They believed the campaign would resurrect UPU from the doldrums after its tragic struggle and loss.

However, the campaign in early 1977 had grown beyond what UPU could handle alone, and the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC) joined the campaign, which was facilitated by China Brotsky. PFOC originally came into existence in support of the Weather Underground Organization, distributing WUO's political book and writings entitled *Prairie Fire*. A young lawyer from Amnesty International, Kathleen Burke, was recruited to represent the petition at the United Nations, while at the same time, the UPU and PFOC organized a signature-petition, gathering 2,500 signatures from prisoners across the country. In fact, we had affiliated cadres in state and federal prisons in 25 U.S. states, with communications with prisoners in parts of Europe.

In 1977, the attorney presented our petition to a special subcommittee of the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland. This being the first time U.S. political prisoners had a petition submitted and recorded at a United Nations subcommittee pertaining to racism and the conditions of political prisoners in the U.S. penal system. (See: U.N. document E/CN.4/Sub.2/NGO/75). As the petition campaign was being organized, Comrade Sundiata Acoli in New Jersey agreed to assist with organizing a march in support of the petition in the United Nations. The march and demonstration was held in front of the Harlem State Office Building, an initiative that Sister Bibi Angola ensured would be successful. This campaign was responsible for former U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young being fired from his post at the U.N. by then-President Jimmy Carter. How that occurred was PFOC informed me they knew a reporter that would be in Paris, France, when Andrew Young would be visiting, that the reporter would be covering his travels, and asked what he could do in support of the campaign. I suggested the reporter ask Ambassador Andrew Young the single question, "Are there political prisoners in the United States?" When Andrew Young answered, "...perhaps thousands..." right wing political forces and the media in the United States had a field day rebuking and attacking him, eventually resulting in Jimmy Carter firing him from his U.N. post.

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The campaign was so successful that UPU and PFOC had communications from prisons across the country. We organized the first demonstration in front of San Quentin on August 21, 1977, initiating the first of what would become a Black August tradition. By September 19, 1977, I was paroled and transferred from San Quentin back to NYC where I was kept in isolation at Rikers Island for 58 days. I was held in isolation because I was supposed to have been paroled and transferred to federal authorities in accordance with parole stipulations from San Quentin. Instead, I was taken to NYC and when officials recognized their error, Robert Morgenthau, NYC Chief District Attorney, opposed Benjamin Ward, Commissioner of NYS Department of Correctional Services, who did not want me in his system. But they had to keep me, or otherwise possibly lose future custody to execute their sentence. Eventually, I was transferred to Sing-Sing, en route to Clinton Correctional Facility in Dannemora, New York, 50 miles from the Canadian border for orientation. I was held at Clinton until December 29, 1977, and was then transferred to Attica.

In the 11-month stay at Attica, I inherited the position of Chairman of the Lifers' Committee, an inmate organization working to win lifers "good time" off the minimum sentence for good behavior, as is given to all other classes of prisoners in NYS. At a community forum sponsored by the Attica Lifers' Committee, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark attended and made a presentation. I originally met Ramsey Clark when he and his father toured the Tombs jail while I was awaiting trial. I made it a point to speak to both of them, and one of the things I said to Mr. Clark was to be sure to tell the people the truth about what is happening in this government. At any rate, at the Attica forum he remembered that brief conversation and told people attending that he would help me get out of prison. Unfortunately, that did not happen, but he has staunchly advocated for human rights around the world. After the 1971 insurrection in Attica, prison guards continued to be abusive, as they are now, and I was accused of organizing what was named "The Attica Brigade," a group of prisoners allegedly prepared to retaliate against prison guards' brutality. I was held for 60 days in the Special Housing Unit (SHU), accused of being the leader of the *Attica Brigade*. The Attica prison administrators sought to keep me in Administrative Segregation after I completed the 60 days of punitive isolation, but when that failed, I was transferred to Auburn.

A Political Prisoner's Journey in the U.S. Prison System

My nine-month stay at Auburn in 1979 was uneventful until there was a fight between two prisoners in the Mosque. The prison authorities decided to take the Mosque from the Muslims and make them conduct their Friday prayers in the Christian chapel. The Muslims rebelled and decided to conduct their Friday prayers in the exercise yard. At the time, praying in the yard was against the rules, and after the protest, several prisoners were transferred out of Auburn for disciplinary reasons. It should be noted that before the 1971 Attica insurrection, there had been a rebellion at Auburn, and many of those prisoners had been transferred to Attica. Again, prison administrators accused me of being a ringleader, but I was not officially charged with a disciplinary report.

I was transferred to Green Haven Correctional Facility from Auburn in July 1980. Green Haven was one of the most corrupt prisons in New York State. At Green Haven, I became the Executive Director of the inmate organization, Creative Communications Committee (CCC). Essentially, the CCC operated as a lifers' group seeking to influence change in state penal and prison laws. Initiatives were organized to win lifers' "good time," as had been started when I was in Attica. Also under my direction, CCC sponsored a class action lawsuit challenging the clause in the 13th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution that held prisoners are slaves of the state. The lawsuit was supported by a petition that was submitted to the United Nations arguing the 13th Amendment was in violation of international law governing human rights. The CCC sponsored community forums inviting NYS legislators, community representatives, and other notables to discuss issues of penal reform. However, in the three-year period from 1977-1980, there were three escapes from Green Haven; drugs, prisoner rapes and extortion were rampant in the prison. Members of the CCC sought to curtail a number of these activities, especially in terms of preventing gang violence due to drugs and extortions. There was a growing base of support and respect from prisoners for CCC commitment and work. This was recognized in Albany when the Chairman of CCC, Ralph "Ratton" Hall, was permitted to give a presentation to a Legislative Assembly Committee.

When the last escape occurred from the visiting room at Green Haven, the prison authorities decided to revamp and restrict visiting. The series of new regulations were implemented to restrict visiting and prisoners' movement in the prison. In

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response, the various prisoners' organizations, including the Inmate Liaison Committee (ILC) and Inmate Grievance Resolution Committee (IGRC), which had been officially created because of the demands from the 1971 Attica insurrection, met to discuss a prisoner response. At the meeting, it was decided to gauge the extent of prisoners' support for any future action by conducting a one-day hunger strike. If the prison population supported the strike, then other decisions would be made to ensure prisoners' concerns were heard and considered by the prison authorities.

When 98% of the entire prison population did not attend any meals in the mess hall, the next day prisoners met to discuss what issues they would bring to the prison administrators, and how they would be delivered. The prison administration and Commissioners from Albany wanted to meet with the prison representatives, first calling the ILC and IGRC reps to discuss the problems. However, the ILC and IGRC members informed the prison administrators that they did not represent the population in the hunger strike, claiming that the various inmate organizations must meet and elect representatives to discuss the issues with the prison administrators. Of course, the ILC and IGRC members were previously instructed on what to say when called by the administrators, several of them being CCC members. The prison administrators permitted the leaders of the inmate organizations to meet, and it was decided 40 prisoners would meet with the prison authorities, and I would be the spokesperson for the group.

The 40 prisoners met with the Green Haven executive team and Commissioners from Albany, and I presented the prisoners' grievances. Essentially, I informed them the corruption in the prison administration was the cause for the trouble in the prison, and the restrictions being implemented would cause further upheaval. When the meeting began, we asked that it be recorded, that the tape be played on the institutional radio so the entire population could hear what happened, and know they had been adequately represented. At first, the prison administrators refused to record the meeting. I then turned to face the prisoners who were seated behind me. They stood in unison prepared to exit the meeting. At that point, the administrators relented and recorded the entire meeting, which was played that evening on the institutional radio. At the conclusion of the meeting, it was negotiated and agreed that there would be no retaliation or transfers for those prisoners who had attended the meeting, especially since the prison administrators had asked for the meeting in the first place.

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The next day, the Superintendent of Green Haven was transferred, the prison was placed on total lock down for a general shakedown search, and they began transferring prisoners. Three days after transfers began guards came to my cell claiming I was being transferred. However, I was assaulted by the six guards after I had been stripped naked. After a struggle, I was handcuffed, and they put my pants on. Barefooted and bare-chested, I was moved to another housing block, beaten along the way and slammed into every passing door jam. Then I was transferred to Down State Correctional Facility where I was placed in the SHU and given a disciplinary report that I assaulted one of the guards who came to escort me to be transferred.

At the preliminary disciplinary hearing conducted at Down State, I refuted the charges and the Lt. conducting the hearing changed the charges in order to defeat my defense against the bogus charge of assault. The next day I was handcuffed and transferred to Comstock Correctional Facility, where I was roughed-up and placed in the SHU. In the SHU I was put in a cell that was completely enclosed with a quarter-inch sheet of plexi-glass covering the front bars. The sheet of plexi-glass had small holes drilled at the bottom to permit air inside the cell. I was kept in that cell for nearly two weeks. In the daytime, the temperature in the cell reached 100 degrees in the middle of July. I would have to lie on the ground for hours to get fresh air and breathe. Today, plexi-glass covered cells are being used throughout NYS-SHUs.

In Comstock, they completed the disciplinary hearing, in violation of all their rules governing such hearings, and gave me 6 months in the SHU, losing all privileges. I appealed the decision to the Director of SHU in Albany, who summarily affirmed all charges and sanctions. I then filed an Article 78 – Show Cause petition with the courts, and within a month of filing the petition, Albany reversed all charges, making the petition before the court moot. I was immediately released into the general population at Comstock. However, prior to being released into the general population, I was taken out of the plexi-glass cell in the SHU and placed in a regular cell in the SHU. Many of the prisoners were being abused in the SHU, and the guards permitted a snitch trustee to spray a high-powered fire hose on several prisoners. One in particular, Zack Morgan, was a close friend who was crippled as a result of a stab wound he suffered in Green Haven. To protest the abuse, several prisoners decided to go on a hunger strike. After the 5th day, only five of us stood strong, and on the 7th day we were

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escorted to the hospital. In the hospital, guards tried to intimidate one of the younger hunger strikers, and a more seasoned prisoner, the only white guy in the group, jumped in the officer's face and took the beat-down for this young Black kid. We were placed in isolation cells in the hospital, and after the 11th day living on nothing but water, the prison administrators relented, got rid of the trustee and assured changes would be made in the SHU. We were escorted back to the SHU and given a meal with no disciplinary report for the protest. I had spent nearly 4 months in the SHU for having been assaulted by Green Haven prison guards and having been lied to by prison administrators that there would be no retaliation for the meeting with them. Subsequently, the 40 prisoners that were transferred filed and won a lawsuit against Green Haven and NYS Department of Correctional Services, a suit called the "Green Haven 40."

During the Green Haven lawsuit, then DOCS Commissioner Thomas A. Coughlin testified that I was the leader of a prison take-over at Green Haven, that CCC had become a Black Liberation Army front operation, and that I had established BLA cadres throughout the prison engaged in drug sales, extortion, and intimidation to control the prison. Of course, the jury in the Green Haven 40 lawsuit rejected the Commissioner's allegations, especially after the tape from the meeting (which we made a prisoner in the radio room make a copy and send to a lawyer in the streets for safekeeping), was brought to court and played. This happened right after the Commissioner testified he knew nothing about a tape having ever been made.

While in Comstock, I was able to prevent a riot in the mess hall and was given a commendation. However, within the 4 months in Comstock general population, I saw that prisoners were regularly being brutalized by prison guards. This eventually led to a sit-down strike in the prison yard, and, once again, I was accused of being the organizer and ringleader. I was then transferred back to Auburn, placed in the SHU, and charged with various rule violations. Again, after 4 months in SHU, all charges were dismissed after filing an Article 78 petition to the Court. Then I was released to the general population at Auburn, where I stayed for 3 years without incident until transferred in the middle of the day to Clinton Correctional Facility general population. Subsequently, it was later learned that my transfer occurred because someone claimed I was planning an escape from Auburn, which proved untrue. After a 3-year stay at Clinton without

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incident, I was transferred back to Green Haven, where I stayed for 4 years, becoming the Chairman of Project Build prisoners' organization. During this time at Green Haven, I received another commendation for preventing a riot in the auditorium, and received awards from various prisoners' organizations for my participation and leadership in programs. Also during this period, I drafted a legislative bill to win lifers good time. The bill was submitted to NYS Assembly representatives, was adopted by then-Assemblyman Arthur O. Eve, and submitted to the Committee on Corrections. I taught Black history, trained boxers in the gym, and initiated research for the filing of a lawsuit to win prisoners the right to vote. After 4 years in Green Haven, and before I could complete my research for the lawsuit, I was transferred to Eastern Correctional Facility. However, I only stayed 8 months because my co-defendant, Herman Bell, wanted to enter the college master program at Eastern, and DOCS would not permit us to be held in the same prison. Therefore, DOCS made a switch, he was brought to Eastern from Shawangunk, and I was taken to Shawangunk.

At Shawangunk, I continued to teach Black/Afrikan studies, as I had done while at Green Haven and Auburn. I also established the first Men's Group in a prison in the entire country. The Men's Group was so successful that Robert Blye visited and conducted a session; it was featured in an article in the *New York Times*, and on a TV program in Japan. I completed a double-major degree, receiving a Bachelor of Science in Psychology and Bachelor of Arts in Sociology, summa cum laud. At the same time, I completed the research on the prisoners' right to vote, and in 1994, I filed the lawsuit in the federal Northern District Court. Yet, Shawangunk also proved to be a prison where guards rigidly exercised their authority, regularly abusing prisoners. Originally, Shawangunk was constructed to be a maxi-max prison to hold the most incorrigible NYS prisoners. Many of the guards maintained that kind of attitude despite the prison operating as a regular maximum-security institution. While there, I worked as the clerk in the grievance office, and was able to get a good feel of the atmosphere and sentiments of the prison population. Again, unrest eventually reached a nodal point, and prisoners started a work strike in response to a number of restrictions arbitrarily implemented after an attempted escape. Once again, I was transferred, this time back to Attica and held in the SHU 11 days, when charges of leading the strike were downgraded to simply participating in the strike.

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While at Attica in 1996, I became the Imam of the Muslim community. In my 6-month stay, DOCS began to implement a statewide policy of double bunking a number of prisoners due to overcrowding in the system. Across NYS, prisoners protested this policy, and in Attica, prisoners locked themselves in their cells on a work strike. The work strike, in my opinion, was poorly organized. Attica is divided into four sections, with little interaction between prisoners in the different housing areas that made it difficult to organize the strike. Unfortunately, due to the lack of proper communications, some members of gangs supporting the strike would retaliate against prisoners who went to the mess hall to eat, not staying in their cells. This was not a hunger strike, and it could not be expected that prisoners without food in their cells would stay in their cells and not eat. As the Imam of the Muslims, I asked for several representatives of groups to come to the yard to resolve this problem, essentially to stop the prisoner-on-prisoner violence. The position of the Muslims was that we would support anything that the majority of prisoners decided to do to protest the double-bunking policy, but we were not going to engage in prisoner-on-prisoner violence to enforce the strike.

In the prison yard, with a number of prisoners, I explained that no one could prevent a prisoner from going to the mess hall to eat, unless they intend to feed those hungry prisoners. Because I was vocal and adamant about this position, prison guards in the gun towers took it upon themselves to interpret that I was instructing prisoners on how to conduct the strike. The very next day, I once again was taken to the SHU and given a disciplinary report of leading a prison strike. At the hearing, I was found guilty of the charges and given 2 years in the SHU. I appealed the sanctions to Albany, which was modified to 9 months and I was transferred to Elmira Correctional Facility SHU.

Elmira SHU is essentially a sensory deprivation cellblock, where 23 hours a day a prisoner is held in a cell completely enclosed by concrete walls for the exception of a small door opening facing a wall. The only time a prisoner sees another person is when he is going to 1-hour recreation or to and back from a shower 3 times a week, unless going to a visit only on weekends. Food is served through a tray opening in the door. Speaking to another prisoner has to be through a crack at the bottom of the door, however, yelling to other prisoners is not permitted, and if caught doing so it could result in additional time in the SHU. During the 9 months

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in SHU, I was able to complete editing the original manuscript of this book, with the assistance of Bonnie Kerness. I also worked with Herman Ferguson and the New Afrikan Liberation Front (NALF), lobbying the Congressional Black Caucus to reopen COINTELPRO hearings. On February 13, 1996, members of NALF and NY Coalition to Free Mumia Abu Jamal met with CBC staff members in Washington, D.C. The activists raised and discussed the need for CBC to convene hearings in order to develop remedies for those who were victims of COINTELPRO. However, because this issue is not a 'hot' item in the news, the CBC refused to seriously consider convening hearings or the need for remedies. Several years later, former Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, sponsored a non-congressional forum on the issue. Because the forum was non-binding, no CBC member took up the issue for official recognition, hence, our continued initiatives of trying to persuade the CBC and Congressman John Conyers to take on this subject.

At any rate, after 9 months in SHU, the Deputy Superintendent of Security personally gave me an ultimatum: I either go into double-bunk in general population or remain in SHU. I laughed at him, but he told me to give him my answer the next day. After consulting a very close friend, Jose Harris, who was in the SHU (he was permitted to sweep and mop during the day, and at times sneak food to me), advised that double-bunk policy had been fully implemented, and many prisoners were asking to go into double-bunk with their friends. He explained that I needed to get back in direct communications with my family and friends on the streets, and that my own isolation in SHU would be for nothing. I agreed to be released, and after one week in Elmira's general population, at 3:00 a.m., I was awakened by guards to be transferred back to Eastern Correctional Facility, since Herman Bell had graduated from the master's program.

I stayed at Eastern this time for 3 years, teaching prisoners computer literacy. In such time, 1997, with the support of Herman Ferguson (a COINTELPRO victim and former political prisoner, a contemporary of El-Hajj Malik Shabazz, and the first secretary of OAAU), and my dear late comrade Sister Safiya Asya Bukhari (former BPP/BLA and political prisoner of war), founded and initiated the Jericho '98 March on the White House. This campaign brought over 6,000 activists and supporters of U.S. political prisoners to Washington, D.C., which forged into existence the Jericho Amnesty Movement. This time spent in

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Eastern was without incident, and on May 6, 1999, at 4:00 a.m., I was awakened and transferred back to Auburn. No reason was given, but within 6 months at Auburn, I was placed in the SHU, subject to confidential informant statements that I was organizing a strike. Originally, I was being held in administrative segregation pending charges; however, when the confidential informant's statement proved unreliable, my personal property was searched. Hence, they found some literature pertaining to explosives that was received in the mail while I was at Eastern. In fact, the cell had been searched two other times and the literature was not seized. But this time, I was charged with having contraband literature and kept in the SHU for 90 days. While in the SHU, prisoners throughout NYS were protesting the implementation of the death penalty without providing "good time" credit for lifers. This was called the "Y2K strike," allegedly being organized from Sing-Sing prison with the assistance of outside activists. As a preemptive measure, Auburn prison administrators removed me from the general population, allegedly to prevent the possibility of a strike at the premiere prison where prisoners' labor produces motor vehicle license plates. After 90 days in the SHU, I was released back to the general population, and continued to confront harassment by prison guards. Ironically, the Deputy Superintendent of Security who gave me the ultimatum at Elmira was promoted, and became the Superintendent at Auburn, so you can imagine...

I had been in Auburn for 6 years, the longest stay in any one prison. For three of those years I was the Chairman of the Lifers' Committee. In that position, before I gave it up, I facilitated the teaching of a sociology class, submitted proposals to the prison administration, including raising funds for the victims of 9/11, established a parenting class for young fathers, and a pre-release program to prepare prisoners for parole. I facilitated a poetry class and a legal research and discussion class. Having three times been denied release on parole in NYS (2002, 2004, and 2006), on April 4, 2007, I was extradited to San Francisco and charged in a felony complaint, along with 7 others, including Herman Bell, with the death of a S.F. police officer on August 29, 1971.

It has been learned that my transfer from Eastern to Auburn in 1999, and subsequent parole denials, were due to law enforcement officials opening an investigation into a now 37-year-old case under the joint investigation called Operation

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Phoenix Taskforce. The Phoenix Taskforce is a multi-agency task force comprised of at least the San Francisco Police Department, FBI, California Bureau of Investigation, California State Attorney General's Office, United States Attorney's Office for the Northern District of California, and other state and local law enforcement agencies. However, the prosecution of this case was rejected by the federal government, the San Francisco District Attorney's office refused to prosecute, and it was eventually brought by the California Attorney General's office. Now, known as the case of the *San Francisco 8*, again I am being held in isolation, on 23-hour lock-down, in an area without windows or air ventilation in a San Francisco jail. Every time I leave the area, they put a waist-chain, handcuffs and shackles on me, even when in the courtroom for pre-trial hearings, despite neither 6 of the 8 defendants are now out on bail. Because of the NYS conviction, neither Herman Bell nor I are eligible to make bail in this case until we are granted parole in NYS. In the meantime, I continue to work with the Jericho Amnesty Movement and NALF, trying to discover creative and innovative ways to contribute to the overall struggle.

This is an abbreviated history of my over 36 years experience in the U.S. prison system. To be more detailed, for example, how over 3 decades of imprisonment has negatively impacted my family now that I am a great grandfather, would result in a voluminous biographical journey that I am not prepared to write. However, I sincerely hope what is here elucidated offers insights as to what this political prisoner has and continues to suffer and endure. I am certain others have even more horrendous experience indicting inhumane prison conditions, abuse, and brutality underscoring what happened in Abu Ghraib by American prison personnel in Iraq, many of who now work in U.S. prisons.

Tribute Statement for Nuh Washington

Dear Comrades and Friends,

When thinking about how best to tribute Nuh, there are no words that can satisfy such a demand, for Nuh was about putting words into action. So, the best tribute for Nuh is political action, to join the movement and *get busy* in working for the liberation of political prisoners and freedom of poor and oppressed people. This kind of determination is a lasting tribute that carries over from one generation to the next, by you picking up the RED, BLACK, & GREEN battle flag of struggle, with the oneness of God in your heart and continuing his contribution. That is a lasting tribute indeed!

But let me recount how we first met. It was on a crisp Saturday morning and the doorbell of my apartment woke me out of a sound sleep. I put on a robe and went to the door, and there stood two men, with each rested a duffel bag at their feet. They asked, "Are you Tony Bottom?" (which I was called at that time). I affirmed, and they said my sister sent them to me from Salt Lake City, Utah, that they were Denver Panthers, and my sister said I would look out for them until they got settled.

Of course, I was rather incredulous, but apparently they had met my sister who at the time was a student at the University of Utah. Nuh had given a speech at a Black Student Union class that my sister attended, and afterwards she told them they were saying things that her brother says. I had been a BSU leader at Overfelt High School in San Jose, so she knew my politics, although she did not know I had already been recruited into the Black Underground. They introduced themselves as Al and Tee, so I invited them into my apartment, and told them to rest themselves while I checked who they were. I sought a comrade of mine and told him I had

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Tribute Statement for Nuh Washington

two guys at my apartment claiming to be Denver Panthers. My comrade then called on other Panthers who had been in Denver to check these guys out. As mentioned in Herman's account of how Al Washington became known as Nuh, Griff-Graff came over to my apartment and confirmed that Al and Tee were in fact Denver Panthers. That was enough for me, at age 18 and already a fighter in the Black Underground, I was prepared to accept all who were verified as a member of our struggle for freedom. After a period, Nuh, Tee, and I would sit long nights in my apartment and study the writings of Mao Tse Tung, Che Guevara, Regis Debray, and Franz Fanon. Tee and I would more often than not defer to Nuh's analysis and explanation of our studies. At the time he was only 27 years old, but he became known as the old man or the old wise man. While Tee had been a Vietnam Vet, Nuh had been a vet of the streets, prisons, and Panther politics. He understood the principles of revolutionary politics beyond the emotional conception of *things are bad, and we need to do something to change things*. And of course, for me, at age 18, anyone over the age of 25 was considered an old man!

After the assassination of comrade George Jackson on August 21, 1971, Nuh was very upset, and he came over to my apartment and we talked for a very long time about how no one retaliated when Jonathan was killed. We then planned to take action, unfortunately an ill-fated effort that resulted in a shoot-out with San Francisco police, and our capture on August 28, 1978. Nuh was hit in the face by a shotgun pellet that hit his cheek bone and traveled down through his neck, and I was beaten, leaving permanent scars on my face. But we survived to continue in the struggle over two decades later.

It is this kind of indomitable fighting spirit that needs to be honored when we give tribute to Nuh Washington. It is this Panther spirit that Elaine Brown's poem evokes about the men of the Black Panther Party, for in the *A Black Panther Song* poem you will hear the growl of the warrior Panther known as Nuh Washington.

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A Black Panther Song

Have you ever stood
In the darkness of night
Screaming silently you're a man?
Have you ever hoped
That a time would come
When our voice could be heard
In the noonday sun?
Have you waited so long
Till your unheard song
Has stripped away your very soul?
Well then believe it my friends
That the silence will end
We'll just have to get guns and
Be men.

Long live the Panther Spirit of Nuh Washington.

Albert Nuh Washington passed away on April 28th, 2000 at the age of 59.

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Filiberto's Song

My machete is adorn, draped in red
and green, sharpened with the blood
of a patriot whose life beckons.

Viejo, I hear you from a distant land,
your words of liberation, freedom and
independence cuts the wind of tyranny,
the howling ravishing wolves of the
U.S. neo-colonialism and exploitation.

The ancestors speak through you on this
137th anniversary of El Grito de Lares,
telling our youth NOW is the time to
restore and rebuild our nation.

Their echo's reverberates into chords of
Afrikan drums and coqui rhythms with the
sweetness of cocquitos... Libertad, Libertad,
Libertad, Libertad, Libertad...

We will not forgive or forget!
We will heed the call!
We will champion the Patriots!
We will free our nation!

For our machetes are adorn, draped in red
and green, sharpened with the blood of
a patriot whose life beckons.

*The Puerto Rican independista leader, Filiberto Ojeda Rios, was
assassinated on September 23, 2005, by FBI snipers, provoking outrage
and protest across Puerto Rico.*

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POSTSCRIPT

A Challenge to the Black Bourgeoisie and Black Progressives...

Which Way Forward?

Will the CIA knock off Barack Obama for pulling U.S. troops out of Iraq, and after Barack Obama, which way forward? After the political death of Barack Obama, what will the left do? How will the Democratic Party sustain a populist political posture? How will both the country and international political arena respond to an American reality absent the promise of a Barack Obama presidency? Because he has been anointed in the spirit of JFK, will Barack Obama suffer the same fate?

The illusion that Barack Obama in the White House will represent a real change ultimately will result not in his physical demise, but rather his political death by virtue of the façade. The question then must be what does Obama presidency represent and mean to people of color, especially Black people? Some will argue that it is empowering, it is the fulfilling of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.'s, dream, the breaking down of institutional racism, and further offer to the international community America's promise is true.

Unfortunately, too many Black Americans believe that the election of a Black president represents a dramatic change in American politics. I disagree! While the election and seating of a Black Commander in Chief in the White House challenges the sensibilities of a country whose racial and cultural history has been one of Black ostracism and denial, the body politics of business as usual will not be challenged or change. Barack

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A Challenge to the Black Bourgeoisie

Obama's presidency essentially represents the power-elite in black face, and this reality is a blatant affront to any true prospects of serious change that would improve the socio-economic and political conditions of Black people and poor people of color. In *Black Skin White Mask*, Franz Fanon offers that Black Americans may suffer the psychological vestiges of chattel slavery, a trauma that imposes restrictions to free themselves psychologically from the culture of American racist political oppression as presently governed by the plutocracy. If true, absent a dynamic national Black agenda that addresses and defines Black empowerment, this would demand reassessment of Black support of Barack Obama presidency.

For example, when considering the economic figures of 2005, the wealthiest 0.1% of the country's population had nearly as much income as all 150 million Americans who make up the lower economic half of the country. Of each dollar people earned in 2005, the top ten percent got 48.5 cents, the highest percentage since 1929, just before the Great Depression. Given this reality, and that Barack Obama's campaign has been financed by corporate sponsors and the power-elite, Oprah Winfrey notwithstanding, the prospect is that socio-economic and political conditions will worsen according to the dim economic future of U.S., Inc. globalization.¹ Further, the greater likelihood is that Black apathy will increase with the mistaken belief Black folks has reached the pinnacle of socio-economic political achievements with Obama's presidency. A challenge from the Black left for fundamental change will become impotent in fear of being charge of attempting to undermine the first Black president.

Obviously, the Black bourgeoisie will petition for greater visibility in determining the political future of Black people with the gratuitous support of corporate America. They will seek to reverse the right wing rollback of affirmative action policies, the drastic decline of Black enrollment in colleges, job hiring, promotions, and small business contracts. They will hope to challenge the welfare to-workforce programs that increased the number of poverty-stricken single mothers, while cutting Section 8 housing programs, causing an increase in homeless families. At the same time, they will seek to ensure Black and Hispanic homeowners receive a fair share of the mortgage high-interest bailouts. As was observed by President Bush in 2002, "Under 50% of African-Americans and Hispanic Americans own a home – That's just too few," after many lost their homes due to bank

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foreclosures and predatory lenders.

It would be expected the Black bourgeoisie to point to the USDA report, "Household Food Security in the United States 2004," that says 38.2 million Americans live suffer from hunger and food insecurity, including 14 million children. Further indicating how the U.S. Conference of Mayors in the December 2006 report titled *Hunger and Homelessness Survey 2006*, informed that requests for emergency food assistance increased an average of 7%. The study found that 48% of those requesting emergency food assistance were families with children, and that 37% of adults requesting such assistance were employed. Given these general circumstances affecting Americans, the impact on Black Americans is exacerbated exponentially by institutional racism, of which the Black bourgeoisie should address in a Barack presidency.

These socio-economic conditions produced by government policies had the corresponding effect of increasing prison construction that has become the new housing for the poor and unemployed. The 1985 Clinton administration Crime Bill effectively caused the criminalization of poverty, ensuring the poor, unemployed, and homeless were likely to suffer the penalties of incarceration, essentially feeding the prison industrial complex. Unfortunately, all candidates in the presidential campaign have completely disregarded the prison industrial complex in fear of looking soft on crime.

However, according to Wikipedia, in 2002 roughly 93.2% of prisoners were male. About 10.4% of all black males in the United States between the ages of 25 and 29 were sentenced and in prison by year's end, compared to 2.4% of Hispanic males and 1.2% of white males. As of June 30, 2005, about 1 of every 136 U.S., Inc. residents was incarcerated, either in prison or jail. The total number imprisoned was 2,186,230, with 1,438,701 in state and federal prisons and 747,529 in local jails. Although Euro-Americans comprise 69% of those arrested, institutional racism in the criminal (in)justice system incarcerates Black Americans in disproportionate numbers. It imprisons Black men three times more than Euro-Americans and four times more than did apartheid South Africa. While Black men comprise 53% of those in prison, Black people are only 12.5% of the entire population. Furthermore, with half of the nation's prison population being Black men, disenfranchising felons has emerged as a modern form of Jim Crow poll tax, effectively suppressing the Black vote.

A Challenge to the Black Bourgeoisie

Today, approximately 6 million people cannot vote due to state and federal laws prohibiting felons from voting. In a spring 1964 speech to activists, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz stated:

You and I in America are not faced with a segregationist conspiracy, we're faced with a government conspiracy... it is the government itself, the government of America, that is responsible for the oppression and exploitation and degradation of Black people in this country... This government has failed the Negro.²

The Black bourgeoisie will need to demand the overhaul of the criminal justice system, and at the same time demand an exponential decrease in orphaned Black children burdening the foster care system.

With Bush's February 16, 2008, trip to Afrika to counter China and Russia's economic investments and political foray on the continent, Barack Obama will be required to examine and promote the U.S., Inc. Afrikan economic initiatives. However, he will find difficulty prohibiting CIA covert operations on behalf of American corporations, especially petroleum companies, dividing Afrikan populations in ethnic wars of genocidal proportion in order to exploit their natural resources.³ These CIA proxy ethnic wars in Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, and Chad virtually operate pursuant to the age-old tactic of divide and conquer. Theoretically, such tactics will permit the U.S., Inc. to introduce solutions that favor U.S., Inc. encroachment, requiring either the placement of U.S. troops as so-called peacekeepers, and/or U.S., Inc. financial investments – via the World Bank, International Monetary Fund austerity programs or direct U.S. corporate incursions with exorbitant interest and fees resulting in the control of certain natural resources. These economic ventures seek to preserve and/or forge a neo-colonial relationship with these Afrikan governments as part of an overall geopolitical initiative of U.S., Inc. hegemony.

However, other U.S. ethnic groups will seek to reserve their turn at the throne, to be a White House occupier, and will preserve that opportunity by jockeying for political recognition, enjoining competitive monopoly-capitalist ventures, i.e., NAFTA, a program that was signed into law by President Bill Clinton in December 1993. Here, Barack Obama will confront protest on

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the issue of immigration from Mexico and South America and how this impacts the U.S., Inc. economy and race relations in proceeding years, reminiscent of the January 31, 2008, Mexican “Sin maiz, no hay pais” (Without corn, there is no homeland) protest opposing NAFTA. The NAFTA initiative to build a super highway from Canada to Mexico to allow a broad range of imports/exports between the countries will further exacerbate the immigration and drug-trafficking concerns.

It is documented that Barack Obama supports Zionism over the Palestinian right of return and Palestinian independence, and he virulently opposes fundamentalist Islam. Despite Barack Obama claiming to oppose U.S. military occupation of Iraq, and allegedly the war in Afghanistan, his campaign promise to withdraw U.S. troops out of Iraq will be limited. Most of these troops will be redeployed to Kurdistan or Kuwait, and to strengthen troop numbers in Afghanistan. While in campaign speeches he proclaims the need to apply a new method of forging international dialogue, Barack Obama believes in the implementation of an U.S., Inc. hegemonic foreign policy. In this regard, Barack Obama will need to address and balance the dilemma of domestic socio-economic recovery from the recession, while continuing the war policy of the previous administration, whose corporate capital investments demand adherence, at the threat of a CIA assassination. This includes the continuation of the documented Afghanistan poppy production that for decades has been a financial drug operation of the CIA that the Taliban had previously disrupted.

Given these truths, what can be expected to change when the U.S., Inc. power elite – through various think tanks like the Council on Foreign Relations, Bildenberg Group, Trilateral Commission and their clones – operates on behalf of their corporate benefactors to ensure government policies are implemented for their corporate profitability, imperialism, and the ideals of one world order?⁴ For example, on February 17, 1950, during Senate hearings concerning the U.N. and its organization, James P. Warburg testified, “We shall have world government, whether or not we like it. The question is only whether world government will be achieved by consent or conquest.”⁵

Inevitably, this will require the Black bourgeoisie to look upon itself and decide what part it will play in preserving this ideal, or abandon the prospect of looking for Barack Obama to be a serious representative of change in America, reflecting their own

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class values and aspirations.

This is especially significant considering the post September 11, 2001, destruction of the World Trade Center and damage to the Pentagon was the impetus for the U.S. corporate-government to implement a plethora of repressive laws, restricting Americans' civil and human rights. It would be expected of the Black bourgeoisie to seek the means to reverse these laws that threaten the ideals of a free society. They will need to challenge most of these U.S., Inc. laws because they serve the continued quandary of national oppression and class exploitation, as the police, courts, and prisons preserve this system of domestic monopoly-capitalism and prohibit the possibility of fundamental or serious change.

In this regard, a challenge to the Black bourgeoisie's failures, due to their class interest, makes it imperative for Black progressive and radical forces to engage in a class struggle for national unity. They need to expose how the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, the Department of Defense, and the various branches of the military serve to maintain corporate capitalist-imperialism. Thus, it will be exposed how various branches of the judiciary create laws which undermine equal justices and uphold the existing system of national and class oppression. This should not be a surprise, considering the FBI's memorandum of August 25, 1967 describing the intent of COINTELPRO:

...to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder.

The pernicious background of such groups, their duplicity, and such publicity will have a neutralizing effect. Efforts of the various groups to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents must be frustrated. No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leadership of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing

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conflicts between competing Black Nationalist organizations. When an opportunity is apparent to disrupt or neutralize Black Nationalist, hate-type organizations through cooperation of established local news media contacts or through such contact with sources available to the Seat of Government, in every instance careful attention must be given to the proposal to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited through publicity and not merely publicized.

Intensified attention under this program should be afforded to the activities of such groups as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Revolutionary Action Movement, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, Congress of Racial Equality, Nation of Islam. Particular emphasis should be given to extremists who direct the activities and policies of revolutionary or militant groups as Stokely Carmichael, H. "Rap" Brown, Elijah Muhammad, and Maxwell Stanford.

Another internal FBI memorandum of March 9, 1968, proposes neutralizing those who promote fundamental changes challenging socio-economic conditions confronting poor and oppressed communities. The memorandum specifically encouraged neutralizing New Afrikan youths, stating: "Negro youths and moderates must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." This pernicious history of domestic civil and human rights violations by the FBI and U.S. military is hidden from the American population. For example, Americans are unaware of the extent the religious pacifist and civil rights leader, Martin L. King, Jr., was a target of the FBI, other U.S. intelligence agencies, and Military Intelligence Group. The U.S. Senate Church Committee Report of 1976, titled *Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans*, informs:

[T]he "neutralization" program continued until Dr. King's death. As late as March 1968, FBI agents were being instructed to neutralize

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Dr. King because he might become “a messiah” who could “unify, and electrify the militant Black Nationalist movement, if he were to abandon his ‘obedience’ to ‘white liberal doctrines’ (nonviolence) and embrace Black Nationalism.” Steps were taken to subvert the “Poor People’s Campaign,” which Dr. King was planning to lead in the spring of 1968. Even after King’s death, agents in the field were proposing methods for harassing his widow, and Bureau officials were trying to prevent his birthday from becoming a national holiday.⁶

However, the federal corporate government has passed new laws broadening the Patriot Act, legalizing what had been unconstitutional police, FBI, and U.S. military domestic activities. Black progressive activists in a class struggle for national unity, challenging the Black bourgeoisie to oppose this claimed war against terrorism – specifically, the new laws that severely restrict protest, demonstrations and dissent, e.g., the October 17, 2006, signing of the John Warner Defense Authorization Act of 2007 – must demand the Black bourgeoisie to do more and fight harder.

In a private Oval Office ceremony President Bush signed the bill that permitted his office to declare a public emergency and station troops anywhere in America, taking control of state-based National Guard units without the consent of the governor or local authorities, in order to suppress public disorder. On this same day, Bush signed the Military Commission Act of 2006, that allows for torture and detention abroad, as Section 1076 titled *Use of the Armed Forces in Major Public Emergencies*, and essentially puts in place the mechanism for “martial law” according to Section 333, which states:

...the President may employ the armed forces, including the National Guard, in Federal service, to restore public order and enforce the laws of the United States when, as a result of a natural disaster, epidemic, or other serious public health emergency, terrorist attack or incident, or other condition in any State or possession of the United States, the president determines that domestic violence has occurred to such an extent

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that the constitutional authorities of the State or possession are incapable of ('refuse' or 'fail' in)

...

Most recently, 404 members of the U.S. House Representatives passed HR 1955, titled the Violent Radicalization and Homegrown Terrorism Prevention Act of 2007, which substantiates the means and method for the application of martial law. This latest initiative establishes a crime for the promotion of ideological terrorism, and Section 899D creates a Center of Excellence for the Study of Violent Radicalization and Homegrown Terrorism in the United States under the auspices of the Department of Homeland Security. On May 9, 2007, President Bush issued a National Security Presidential Directive 51 titled, "National Continuity Policy." In it, he instructs the Secretary of Homeland Security to coordinate with "private sector owners and operators of critical infrastructure, as appropriate, in order to provide for the delivery of essential services during an emergency."⁷ This policy federalized an FBI program of deputizing corporate business representatives, under the auspices of InfraGuard, as citizen-spies for the FBI and Homeland Security in preparation for the implementation of martial law.⁸ All of these laws severely erode the U.S., Inc. Constitution, violate civil and human rights, and project and promote martial law and a fascist police state agenda. The question must be asked, will the Black bourgeoisie require Barack Obama to reverse these nefarious laws that upend and severely limit civil and human right protest of U.S. corporate-government constitutional violations?

Domestically, the police, courts, and prisons are the primary institutions for repressing the aspirations of human rights that the mass and popular movement seeks to achieve, prisons being the last rung in the ladder of judicial coercion. Hence, the Black bourgeoisie must demand a moratorium on prison building and strengthen support for the prison movement. They must call for reopening COINTELPRO hearings, demand the release of political prisoners of war, end of torture of captured revolutionaries, demand the abolition of capital punishment, and end prison slavery as instituted by the 13th Amendment of the U.S., Inc. Constitution. When they fail to do so, the Black progressive and the human rights movement must take up this charge in a class struggle for national unity. In this way, the judicial process is explained as being inequitable, indicating

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how most laws serve to suppress the will of the Black masses' aspirations for freedom, and this shows how the police, courts, and prisons are coercive bureaucracies of corporate monopoly-capitalism. This will ultimately demystify the judicial process and will build a mass and popular consciousness to become fearless in confronting the State.⁹

At this time, the Black progressive human rights movement is factionalized on various issues subject to the socio-economic crisis, and the relationship of the crisis to a particular class or nationality. Such issues include the struggle among those in the trade union industry, miners, farmers, teachers, and social services, as well as the industrial workers' strike and various civil rights issues, all of which are of substantial concern to many progressives in many different ways. However, factionalism tends to drain the masses' enthusiasm in a struggle for change, ensuring their participation only when their livelihood is directly in jeopardy. This struggle for change can preserve competitiveness that will maintain divisions between classes and nationalities.

To remedy factionalism, the Black progressive forces must build national campaigns and mobilizations, developing working-class solidarity amongst the many progressive elements within a popular civil and human rights movement. It is in internationalist solidarity amongst the most progressive forces, combating racist, capitalist-imperialism, that will provide the impetus for greater unity throughout the entire mass and popular civil and human rights movement. The struggle for the preservation and restoration of democratic and civil-rights must evolve toward a struggle for human rights, which in turn will take the class struggle for national unity toward the final and complete destruction of corporate-capitalist class exploitation and racist imperialist neo-colonialist oppression.

While it cannot be expected that Barack Obama will function outside of the class interest of the plutocracy without the CIA threatening his existence, it is extremely important that the Black bourgeoisie is forced to challenge the presidency of Barack Obama on issues highlighted above. The progressive elements in the oppressed Black nation, euphemistically referred to as Black Americans or African-Americans, must take the lead in developing a national agenda. Such a national agenda needs to not only comprise the issues raised here, but also be inclusive of universal political issues affecting the daily lives of all poor and oppressed peoples in the incorporated United States.

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The guiding theoretical principle that offers insights on how the Black liberation movement should govern its political determination is the implementation of a “Class Struggle for National Unity, National Unity for Self-Government and Self-Government for National Independence.”

Endnotes

¹ The Act to Provide a Government for the District of Columbia, Section 34 of the Forty-First Congress of the United States , Session III, Chapter 61 and 62, enacted on February 21, 1871, states:

The UNITED STATES OF AMERICA is a corporation, whose jurisdiction is applicable only in the ten-mile-square parcel of land known as the District of Columbia and to what ever properties are legally titled to the UNITED STATES, by its registration in the corporate County, State, and federal governments that are under military power of the UNITED STATES and its creditors. (Emphasis added)

Pursuant to Title 28 U.S.C. 3002 (15) (a), the United States is a Federal Corporation. Title 28 U.S.C. 3002 (15) (3), further informs that all departments of the U.S. are part of the corporation. The Commerce Department acquires birth certificates via county and state governments, which contractually makes these live births ultimately commerce property of the U.S. Corporation, with a monetary value attached to each certificate.

² Twelve Point Program of the Revolutionary Action Movement, 1964.

³ Today, the U.S., Inc., is bankrupt; according to a U.S. Treasury report of 2006, it has a federal debt of more than \$5 trillion, while Saudi Arabia, Japan, and China governments and corporate investors either control or highly influence major U.S. banking and properties, having purchased close to 100% of that debt. That's \$3 trillion borrowed from the Saudis, the Chinese, the Japanese, and others. The Arabs of the Gulf nations took \$252 billion in 2005 for OPEC's oil – and put back \$311 billion by purchasing U.S. Treasury bills. Latin America borrowed \$227 billion at high interest – while lending the U.S. \$379 billion at low interest. Americans bought \$243 billion in products from China – while China holds nearly a trillion dollars (\$800 million) in reserve to buy up the U.S. See, also, January 20, 2008, *New York Times* article, “Overseas Investors Buying U.S. Holdings at Record Pace – Weak Dollar Lures Foreigners, Reigniting Debate,” by Peter S. Goodman and Louise Story.

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⁴ Research the Trilateral Commission, Council for Foreign Relations and the Bildenberg Group. Then-Chairman David Rockefeller, in 1991, described Bildenberg Group's purpose: We are grateful to the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, *Time* magazine, and other great publications whose directors have attended our meetings and respected their promises of discretion for almost forty years... It would have been impossible for us to develop our plan for the world if we had been subject to the bright lights of publicity during these years. But the world is now more sophisticated and prepared to march towards a world government which will never again know war but only peace and prosperity for the whole of humanity.

⁵ Paul Warburg was a chief protagonist for the passage of the Federal Reserve Act, who in 1913 testified before the House Banking and Currency Committee identified himself: I am a member of the banking house of Kuhn, Loeb Company. I came over to this country in 1902, having been born and educated in the banking business in Hamburg, Germany, and studied banking in London and Paris, and have gone all over the world. In the Panic of 1907, the first suggestion I made was let us get a national clearing house. The Aldrich Plan contains some things are simply fundamental rules of banking. Your aim in this plan [the Federal Reserve Act] must be the same centralizing of reserves, mobilizing commercial credit, and getting an elastic note issue. [*The Secrets of the Federal Reserve*, by Eustace Mullins, p. 21.] Paul Warburg was also a representative of the House of Rothschild banking cartel of Europe.

⁶ For more information on Martin L. King, Jr., being a U.S. government and military target read *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars Against the Dissent in the United States* (Boston; South End, 1990), by Ward Churchill; *Whiteout: The CIA, Drugs and the Press* (Verso, NY 1999) by Alexander Cockburn; *An Act of State: The Execution of Martin Luther King*, by William F. Pepper (2003).

⁷ Since April 15, 1861, every succeeding so-called President has issued an Executive Order proclaiming a national emergency virtually extending federal military powers and control of the United States, Inc. The introduction to Senate Report 93-549 (93rd Congress, 1st Session, 1973), states in part: "A majority of the people of the United States have lived all of their lives under emergency rule... And, in the United States, actions taken by the Government in times of great crisis have – from, at least, the Civil War – in important ways, shaped the present phenomenon of a permanent state of national emergency." See, also, November 14, 1994, Executive Order No. 12938, by then so-called President William Jefferson Clinton, where he states: "...Therefore, in accordance with Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d), I

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am continuing the national emergency declared in Executive Order No. 12938.”

⁸ See, “The FBI deputizes business – InfraGard prepares privileged citizens to ‘shoot to kill’ with impunity” by Matthew Rothschild, BayView National Black Newspaper, Vol. 33, Number 7, February 13, 2008. See, also, www.InfraGard.net.

⁹ In 1998, two organizations were formed for this specific purpose, the Jericho Amnesty Movement and Critical Resistance, and both continue to be a source of information and resistance exposing the overall criminal (in)justice system. Check: www.thejerichomovement.com and www.criticalresistance.org. The Jericho Amnesty Movement has also called for the reopening of COINTELPRO hearings, on behalf of approximately 100 COINTELPRO victims, U.S. political prisoners languishing in prison for 30 to 40 years.

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Obama-Mania

I am not faulting you or hating on you for your affection for the 44th President; it is obvious in retrospect it is a universal affliction without contrition to the reality of socio-economic restrictions of the poor and oppressed. I just want you to keep your eyes on the prize so you will not be surprised by the lies, alibis, and distortions that come with the White House territory, with all of its political contortions and false glory.

You see, the situation requires more than an address to impress that change will manifest simply by being professed at press conferences, in a cabinet or a town hall meeting, when the greedy continue to exploit in capitalist elation void of any hesitation because CEOs believe they are safe with no fear of incrimination.

You say give him time to unwind a stimulus plan, while the Republicans continue to make demands to undermine retooling of America. They, being obstructionist, seek to slow the rush in us for better lives.

Yet, those in the know, know this is no time to repose when economic woes cascade like Niagara falls, leaving the lower classes under black and white kaffiyeh shawls of socio-economic malnutrition. They starving for relief that welfare and food stamps can't ease, lack the funds that have undone middle class dreams of prosperity.

For clarity it should be reiterated the stimulus package will result in Barack being demeaned, prompting the implementation of new schemes to ensure the plutocrats continue to govern with Obama as the leader of their economic team. However, in his State of the Union speech, in an effort to teach, Obama sought to distinguish himself from the general political leech.

But not since LBJ and MLK have government policies supported minorities in any significant way. So, don't blame me for being cynical when U.S. political history toward people of color has proven to be criminal.

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Obama-Mania

I only ask that you consider the pathology of a polymorphous pertinacious politician, a chameleon of kaleidoscopic proportion posturing as a people person, whose policies are dictated by the highest bidder. A transmitter of the ideals of homogeneity with the proclivity to speak with a silver fork tongue, when all is said and done, the plutocrats will have gotten more money and run. Another multi-billion dollar bailout from one who may not epitomize the proverbial sellout with a charismatic smile.

I am just exclaiming progressive young folks need to keep a watch-out all the while, since poor people are hanging onto his every word as he gesticulates like a puppeteer with a messiah complex having no fear, urging genuflection to enhance his Presidential career, steering the masses to support him for another 4 years.

As this seemingly ubiquitous incestuous system of avarice, continuously carnivorously nourishes on seasoned American workers, on the putrid green altar of capitalism, in the Temple of the Federal Reserve Bank, where they ritualistically proclaim, "In God We Trust."

"We The People" must discuss and organize our collective disgust of this global economic bust. Globalization has taken its toll, manufacturing has slowed, the stock market has foretold that conspicuous consumption has closed.

Common folks produce the wealth, but have no say in how it is shared, their lives in disrepair full of despair with foreclosures, pink slips and no way to spare a dime in this clime. Void a collective survival mode, there is no extol of a humanitarian code that we are all suffering together.

So, how can I blame you for falling for a White House color change, after being told Americans could once again compete, after recovering from this global economic retreat? Even though the name of the game remains the same, class struggle should now be claimed, if progressive folks take the reins, and forge a mass and popular movement including a national agenda to upend the capitalist-imperialist reign.

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To demand reparations and redistribution of the wealth, now that is a stimulus plan without the stealth. Can it be said such notion is like magic potion, that only a social revolution can dispense without suspense, by applying a little common sense? Putting the money directly in the hands of the oppressed masses, unfortunately, such idea passes as socialist. But it is often said if common sense were common, all of these Fools would have it.

Obama-mania has claimed you! But can you see the forest beyond the trees? “We The People” must take a stand, and free the land of political leeches, with their speeches blinding us with rhetoric about bipartisan unity. I am not splitting hairs; it is just that I care that we learn to share when it comes to our socio-economic affairs. Damn the politicians with their flair, because it makes no difference when they don’t dare to hold capitalist institutions accountable.

Mass mobilization, general strikes, taking the fight to D.C., demanding the end of imperialist wars from sea to shining sea, for public ownership of the means of production, that will cause a reduction in capitalist greed. For big agri-businesses, the building of cooperative farming like Victory Gardens would be alarming, bartering and trading no longer delaying our collective voices must be heard.

If market forces and consumer spending is the engine of this machine, then “We The People” must take control, reclaim our revolutionary souls, like in the laws of the natural order of things.

Remember: ***We Are Our Own Liberators!***

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Last Word

"Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of the situation, understand that fascism is already here. That people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your life in revolution. Pass on the torch, join us, give up your life for the people."

-George Jackson

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About the Author



Anthony Bottom/Jalil Abdul Muntaqim was born October 18, 1951 in Oakland, California, the first of four in his family. His elementary school years were spent in San Francisco. In junior high school, he obtained a summer scholarship to attend a high school chemistry course, and while in high school, enrolled in an advanced college math and engineering program. During the Civil Rights Movement, he participated in NAACP youth organizing and was one of many who engaged in street riots against racism and police brutality in San Francisco. In high school, he became a leading member of the Black Student Union. Because of his ability to articulate the issues that confronted Black students, Jalil often toured San Jose, California, in what were called "speak outs" with the BSU Chairman of San Jose State and City College. He became a member of the "House of Umoja," a cultural-nationalist affiliate of Ron Karenga's United Slaves organization.

At the age of 16, on April 6, 1968, two nights after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., the BSU Chairman of San Jose State and City College, Jalil, and a couple of high school students were arrested in a car and charged with possession of high-powered rifles and Molotov cocktails. Black high school students picketed and demonstrated in front of San Jose City Hall,

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About the Author

demanding their release from detention. After the assassination of Rev. King, Jalil began to believe a more militant response to national oppression and racism was necessary and began to look toward the Black Panther Party for self-defense for leadership. He affiliated with the BPP when he was 18 years old. Having moved back to San Francisco from San Jose, Jalil was recruited into the Black underground by elementary school friends who had since become Panthers. Less than two months from his twentieth birthday, on August 28, 1971, Jalil was captured along with Albert Nuh Washington in a midnight shoot-out with San Francisco police. (It has been alleged that Jalil and Nuh attempted to assassinate a S.F. police sergeant in retaliation for the August 21, 1971, assassination of BPP Field Marshal George Jackson.)

Subsequently, Jalil was charged with a host of revolutionary underground activities, including the assassination of NYC police officers, for which he is currently serving a life sentence. When arrested in 1971, he was a high school graduate and employed as a social worker for the California State Employment Office. Having been imprisoned since 1971, Jalil is one of the ten longest-held Black political prisoners in the world. (On April 28, 2000, Nuh died of cancer in prison.)

While imprisoned in San Quentin in 1975-77, Jalil organized the first national prison petition campaign to the United Nations. He established the first revolutionary prisoners' national newspaper called *Arm the Spirit* and organized the first Black August demonstration in front of San Quentin. From his prison cell, Jalil, with the support of another BLA Prisoner of War, Sundiata Acoli, organized the first march to the United Nations calling for recognition of U.S. political prisoners, as well as the first demonstration in front of the Harlem State Office Building calling for recognition of U.S. political prisoners.

Since being in New York State prisons, Jalil wrote and submitted a legislative bill for prisoners with life sentences to receive good time off their minimum sentences. This bill was introduced in the NY State Assembly Committee on Corrections. Jalil has filed numerous lawsuits on behalf of prisoners' civil and human rights, challenging the prison system's way of doing business. In addition, he has received awards of appreciation from Jaycees, the NAACP, and Project Build prison chapters for his active participation and leadership, as well as two commendations for preventing prison riots.

After many years of being denied the opportunity to attend

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college because he had been designated a Central Monitoring Case (CMC) security classification, in 1994, Jalil graduated from SUNY-New Paltz with a BS in psychology and a BA in sociology. He is a founding member of the New Afrikan Liberation Front (NALF), and continually works to develop a National Prisoners' African Studies Project (NPASP). In 1998, he initiated the international mobilization, *Spring Break '98 Jericho March on the White House and U.S. Embassies to Demand Amnesty for U.S. Political Prisoners*. Approximately 6,000 activists marched and rallied at the White House calling for the amnesty of U.S. political prisoners, resulting in building the Jericho Amnesty Movement. Over the years he has written and had published several political booklets and essays, and he has written an unpublished novel and teleplay.

In New York state, Jalil appeared before the parole board in 2002, 2004, and 2006, each time denied parole and held to appear again in two years. On April 4, 2007, Jalil was extradited from a N.Y.S. prison in Auburn and sent to San Francisco pursuant to a felony complaint. Along with seven other alleged former members of the Black Panther Party, he was charged with the assault on the Ingleside Police Station and killing of a police sergeant on August 29, 1971. The case of the *S.F. 8* is a persistent, nefarious and egregious government attack on the legacy of the Black Panther Party. As the result of these new charges, he was being held in the San Francisco County Jail in 23-hour lockdown in an isolation unit. He states, The United States does not recognize the existence of political prisoners. To do so would give credence to the fact of the level of repression and oppression that exists in the United States. The government would have to recognize the fact that people resist racist oppression in the U.S., and therefore legitimize the existence of not only the individuals who are incarcerated or have been captured, but also legitimize those movements of which they are part.

In 2009, Jalil accepted a nolo contendere plea resulting in the dismissal of charges against four of his co-defendants in the San Francisco 8 case. He was returned to New York, where he continues his fight for parole.

For more information on Jalil check:

www.freejalil.com

www.freethesf8.org

www.thejerichomovement.com

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Essays by Jalil Muntaqim,
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 Kuykendall, Peter Young,
 Jeff Luers, Leslie Pickering,
 Ramona Africa, Bill Dunne,
 Jake Conroy, Rob Los Ricos,
 and Jonathan Paul.



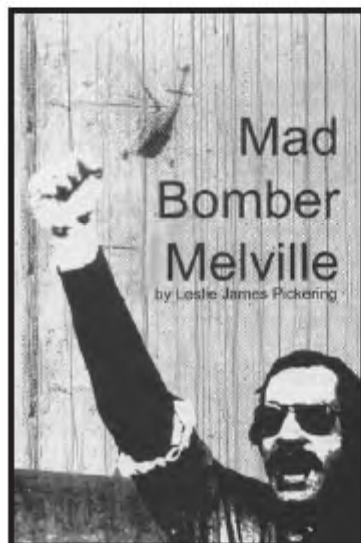
This Country Must Change is an effort to further the discussion of the necessity of a fundamental political and social revolution in the United States. This book contains essays by twelve activists and authors, all who have demonstrated a lifelong commitment to revolutionary change. It is as inspiring as it is educational and a must read for anyone involved with or considering advocating for political or social change within the U.S. Arguing that reformist measures cannot be relied upon to correct the fundamental problems caused by the corporate elite and political structure in the United States, the contributing authors in this book are unified in their call for a significant revolutionary change in the United States of America.

ISBN 9780974288475. 240pp. 2009. pbk. \$16.95 retail.

Muntaqim, Jalil A. We Are Our Own Liberators : Selected Prison Writings (2nd Edition).
 Portland, OR, USA: Arissa Media Group, LLC, 2010. p 313.
<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/iupui/Doc?id=10447254&ppg=322>

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Mad Bomber Melville

Leslie Pickering

Mad Bomber Melville is the long overdue biography of Samuel Melville, a white, working class revolutionary, whose guerrilla bombings of Manhattan skyscrapers, housing government and corporate offices driving the Vietnam War, set in motion a flood of armed

revolutionary actions in the United States during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Once imprisoned, Melville became a key organizer and a crucial element of the notorious Attica Prison rebellion, uniting prisoners across racial barriers and making the ultimate sacrifice for revolutionary change. *Mad Bomber Melville* traces Sam Melville's short life and rapid political development, highlighting a much-needed example of an undying and uncompromising struggle for justice and liberation.

ISBN 0974288444. 176pp. 2007. pbk. \$16.95 retail.

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Muntaqim, Jalil A. *We Are Our Own Liberators : Selected Prison Writings* (2nd Edition).

Portland, OR, USA: Arissa Media Group, LLC, 2010. p 314.

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***Earth
Liberation
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1997-2002***

Leslie Pickering

Earth Liberation Front 1997-2002 offers a rare glimpse into the world of the radical environmental group classified as the number one domestic terrorism threat by the FBI. A compilation of original communiqués from the ELF, press releases and essays from the ELF Press Office, and insightful narrative take the reader inside the battle to protect the natural environment.

ISBN 0974288403. 256pp. 2007. pbk. \$17.95 retail.



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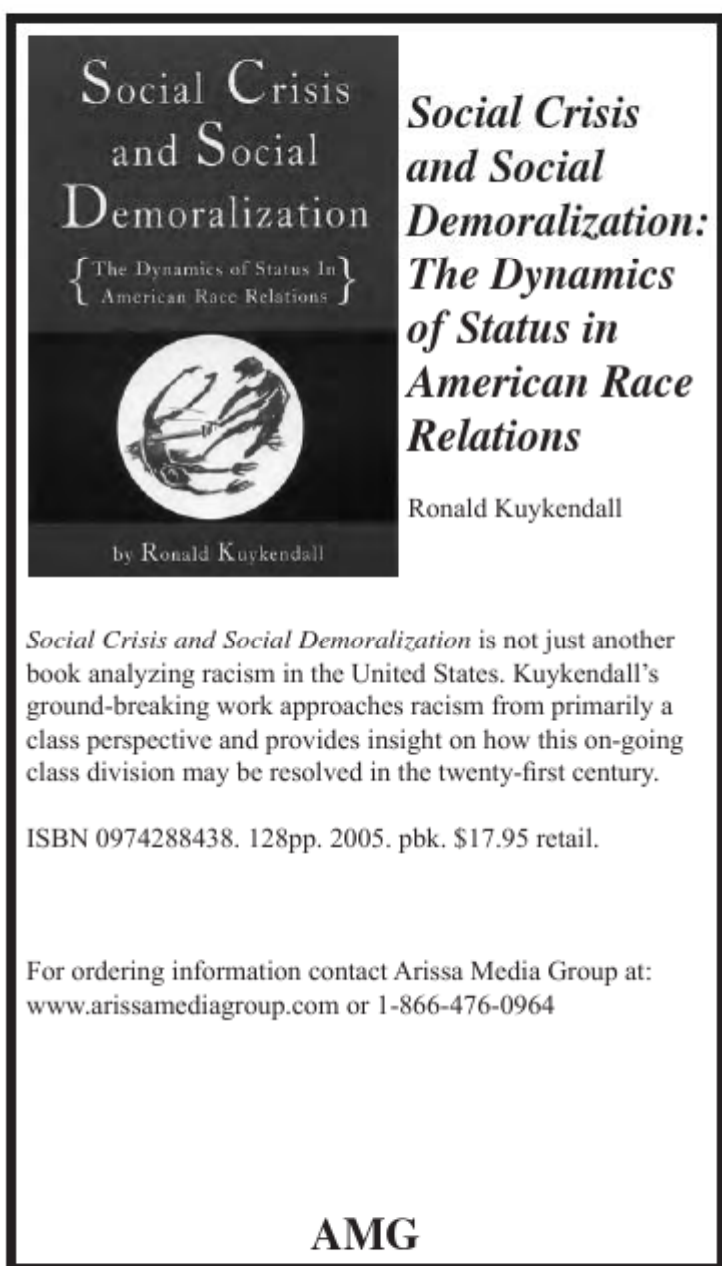
Muntaqim, Jalil A. We Are Our Own Liberators : Selected Prison Writings (2nd Edition).

Portland, OR, USA: Arissa Media Group, LLC, 2010. p 315.

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***The Logic
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Violence:
Lessons in
Reform and
Revolution***

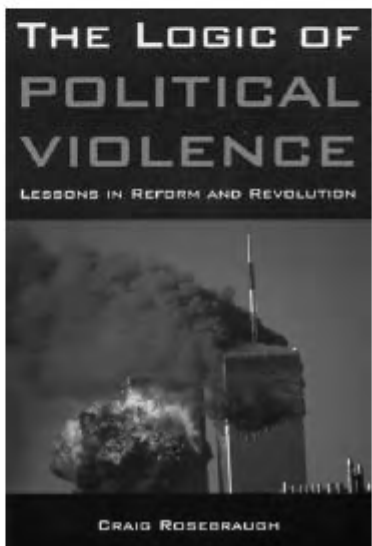
Craig Rosebraugh

In a world of continuing military conflict, suicide bombers, and other terrorism, this work compares the strategy of nonviolence to that of pre-meditated political violence as used in historical revolutionary movements internationally. The ending analysis is an exceptional look at current U.S. based social and political struggles.

ISBN 0974288411. 288pp. 2004. pbk. \$17.95 retail.

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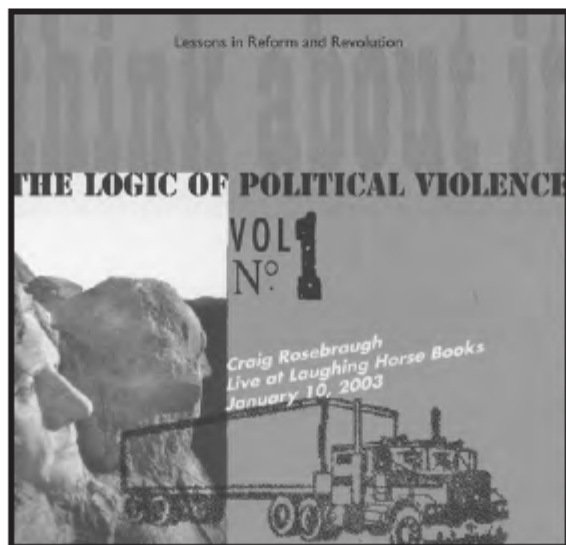
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***Think About It:
The Logic of
Political Violence –
Craig Rosebraugh Live at
Laughing Horse Books***

Craig Rosebraugh

In this 65-minute spoken word audio cd recorded live in Portland, Oregon, Rosebraugh makes a compelling argument for a by any means necessary approach to political activism in the United States. 2003. \$9.99 retail.

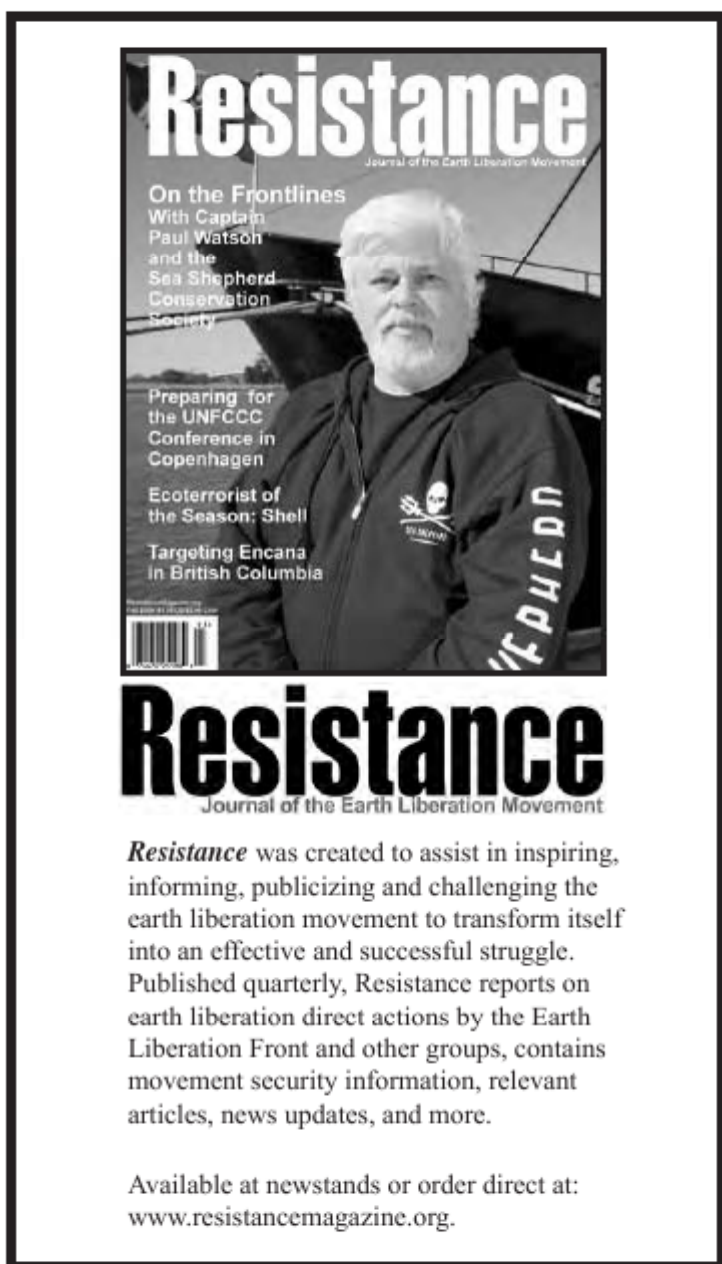
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